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GREGOROVIUS'

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VII.—PART I.

HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

VOL. VII.—PART I.
(1421–1496)

LONDON
GEORGE BELL & SONS
1909

AMS Press, Inc. • 1967 • New York

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AMS Press, Inc.
New York, N.Y. 10003
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Manufactured in the United States of America

106140

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ERRATA.

Page 39, line 6 in heading of section, for *October* read *June*.
,, 301, ,, 7, for *Alfonsino* read *Alfonsina*.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME FROM 1421 TO 1496.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

1. The Renascence — Martin V.—Rome and the State of the Church—Colonna and Orsini — Affairs of Naples—Joanna II. adopts Alfonso of Aragon—His Quarrel with Anjou—War concerning Aquila—Fall of the two Great Condottieri Braccio and Sforza, 1424—Martin Recovers Several Provinces for the Church— He first evades the Council, then summons it at Basle—His Death, 1431.

The downfall of the political independence of the Roman commune at the time of Martin's return from Constance closed the true Middle Age of the city. We might therefore look on our task as ended, were it not that the universal character of Rome demands the continuation of her history through the period of transition that followed down to the time when the Roman ecclesiastical ideal of the Middle Ages was shattered by the German Reformation.

During these hundred years was accomplished the great transformation of Europe, which is called the Renascence. On one side only was it a revival of antiquity; speaking generally it was the entire reform of Western culture.

In the Latin world it appeared as the renascence of classic paganism. In the German it became the renascence of evangelical Christianity. And to the combined working of these two divisions of the European intellect modern culture owes its rise.

The accomplishment of the noblest ideals of man in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, in the life of nations, and in that of individuals, must necessarily be the work of centuries: nevertheless, as early as the fifteenth century, it is visible as the budding germ of a new ideal of culture, which took the place of the catholic ideal of the Middle Ages, such as had hitherto been expressed in the Church and the Empire—the universal forms of the West.

After the Council of Constance mankind experienced a radical change. It passed from the fantastic world of the Middle Ages to the practical conditions of life. The spell of dogmatic transcendentalism, in which the Church had held it captive, was gradually dissolved by learning and the discoveries of science.

Great events opened a wider horizon to the men of the fifteenth century, and procured them an unexpected wealth of material. Latins and Germans shared in the development of these events with the like admirable genius. The former revived the gods, the sages and the poets of classic antiquity,

illumined with the torch of ancient knowledge the uncritical darkness in which scholastic theology and superstition had borne sway, and embellished life with the beauties of art. But at the same time they burst the geographic frontiers of the ancient world. They boldly sailed through the pillars of Hercules, discovered the passage to the Indies, and finally a new world—America.

As the Germans had formerly acquired the teachings of Christianity from the Latins, they now received the treasures of ancient culture, which they mastered so quickly and thoroughly as already to give evidence of their future power in the domain of learning. They themselves discovered the practical art of printing, which gave wings to thought, diffused it and endowed it with immortality. Their philosophic intellect soon also reformed two antiquated world-systems, the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and the Gregorian system of the all-ruling Papacy.

Was it merely accident that the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire took place at this time? The terrible power of the Turk descended on the city of Constantine as a Mohammedan Cæsarism, threatened Europe with Asiatic barbarism, and forced its states to form political alliances and to a more active intercourse. The popes conceived the idea of a revival of the Crusades, but the mediæval idea proved dead; ecclesiastical faith in the Church no longer inspired a world which had grown practical and was now only stirred by political motives. The politics of independent states had usurped the place of the theocratic principle.

Nationalities or hereditary monarchies took shape, such as Spain, France, England and Austria. They struggled for European hegemony. Congresses of the powers succeeded to Councils, the balance of political power succeeded the international authority of Emperor and Pope.

After the victory over the great schism, the Papacy, aged and profoundly shaken, found itself in a new era, once more in antiquated Rome, but no longer as the universal power that moved the world in the West. If, still strong in its system of administration, it was able to effect the restoration of its dogmatic and hierarchic prestige, its great ideal power had nevertheless perished. The age of the European renascence saw it attain its highest development as a profane and secular power, which, based on the foundations of a petty principality, grew into a monarchy. The transformation, practically in harmony with the spirit of the times, but prejudicial to the Church itself, is explicable by the autonomy which states and peoples had attained, by the loss of the great spiritual missions of the Middle Ages, by the cessation of the world-historic struggle with the Imperial power, and lastly by the fall of the civic freedom of Rome.

The continued existence of the Capitoline republic would undoubtedly have obliged the popes of the fifteenth century to turn their attention mainly to the spiritual sphere. Having become absolute rulers of Rome, they abandoned their noblest tasks as high priests of Christianity to establish their ecclesiastical states as secular princes. From thirst

for power and family motives they threw themselves into the political traffic of the Italian states; nevertheless they were not endowed with sufficient strength to obtain actual supremacy over Italy. Owing no less to the nepotism of her popes than to the despotic ambition of her princes, the country finally became the spoil of foreign conquerors.[1]

The Papacy of the Renascence, which took its rise in the creative impulse of the time, presents in the main a terrifying spectacle, and the higher services which some popes rendered to learning and art do not atone for the inestimable loss which the Catholic Church suffered in the demoralisation of the now illimitable papal power. To conceal the nature of these evils, or to falsify their true causes, is now an idle task. Had the popes of the Renascence not refused the reform which was desired by the whole of Europe, had they not set the advantage of the Papacy before that of the Church, the great division in the Church would scarcely have taken place. Europe saw herself threatened with a new Roman absolutism, which was the more intolerable, in that it was based on no elevated religious or social ideas.

[1] To the judgment of Machiavelli, which attributes the ruin of Italy to the Popes, I may add the opinion of a King. Ferdinand of Naples, speaking in 1493, said: *et da anni et anni in qua se e veduto li pontifici havere cercato de offendere et havere offeso altri: et noi ne possimo essere testimonio, et simo per le cose che ne hanno facte, et cercate contra per la innata loro ambitione, et de multi inconvenienti sequiti in Italia per parechi tempi passati: già se e veduto li pontifici esserne stati auctori.* The King to his ambassador Antonio de Gennaro at Milan, April 24, 1493. Trinchera, *Cod. Aragonese*, vol. ii. 378.

Vulgar temporal instincts of ambition or avarice governed the Papacy at a period of unbounded immorality. The discontented nations endured the deepest, and now scarcely credible, desecration of Christianity, and the continued attacks of the all-voracious Curia on their estates and bishoprics, on their consciences and their property, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the measure was full. Germany, which for long centuries had been linked to Rome by the imperial idea, severed herself from the Papacy by her national reforms, and the result of the intolerable ill-treatment of noble races was the independence of the German world, and through it the rise of a new culture, whose centre was no longer the Church. In the deliverance of peoples and states from the guidance of Rome, effected by the German reformation, the second period of Rome's world-wide supremacy and the Middle Ages came to an end.

The two last volumes of this work set forth the history of this period within the limits of Rome. The ferment of the European intellect during this memorable period of transition gave birth to violent political convulsions and diabolical passions, while the light of knowledge and the products of the Beautiful rose upon the world to be immortalised in permanent monuments.

Martin V. as restorer of Rome.

After his return Martin V. occupied himself with the difficult task of restoring the State of the Church and in raising the city from her decay. He succeeded so far as to be able to lay the foundations on which his successors erected the papal kingdom.

The exhausted Roman people offered no opposition. On the contrary, in their illustrious fellow-citizen they greeted the deliverer from tyrants and the founder of peace. True that Republican principles still survived, though only in isolated spirits. There were still some Romans who had looked in childhood on the great Tribune and had seen the Banderesi. These times were for ever past. Rome was unable to preserve anything more of her ancient freedom than the autonomy of the Commune, a possession which was indeed inestimable. Martin always held in honour this communal constitution. At his command Nicholas Signorili, secretary to the Senate, compiled the laws of the city in a book.[1] The Capitoline magistrate with the foreign senator, his collateralis and his curia of judges, with the three conservators and all the remaining officials of the republic, survived according to traditional usages. This corporation, however, merely possessed communal and juridical authority and power over the police.[2]

The confusion in the city was, moreover, so great that it was only with difficulty that the Pope suc-

[1] This Codex (Vatican 3536, and in the Colonna Archives) proved, indeed, very scanty. Signorili was an adherent to Cola's theories, a man belonging to the time before Boniface IX. had annihilated the Roman republic. He first appears on December 16, 1407, as notary of the *Ars Bobacteriorum*, in a privilegium of the guild : *Statuta nob. artis Bobacter.* Ed. 1848, Appendix.

[2] The first Senator appointed by Martin was Baldassare de Imola, Conte della Bardella, on November 27, 1420.—In 1421 : Stefano de Branchis of Gubbio, and John Nicolai Salerni, Knight of Verona. I shall henceforward no longer give the series of senators, since they have lost all historic importance.

ceeded in restoring order. The Rome of Martin V.'s time was still the city of the fourteenth century, a labyrinth of dirty streets surmounted by towers, in which the inhabitants spent their joyless days in poverty and sloth. Sanguinary feuds kept families divided; the citizens were at war with the barons, and the barons with one another. In 1424 a saint then celebrated appeared in Rome to preach repentance—the Minorite Bernardino of Siena. The bonfires which he piled with the symbols of luxury and witchcraft on the Capitol on June 25, and the sorceress Finicella, who was burnt three days later, were spectacles that must have reminded Martin of the days at Constance, even if the savage war against the Hussites had failed to do so.[1]

Anarchy also reigned in the Campagna. City there stood against city, barons in arms against each other and against the Communes. Bands of robbers rendered the country insecure. Martin consequently again placed the Maritima under the tribunal of the papal rector, while he removed all the exemptions that the popes had granted.[2] He caused Montelupo, a den of robbers, to be destroyed, and had some of the brigand leaders beheaded. Safety was thus restored. The city-prefect, John of Vico, had again come to the front in Tuscany, a man so formidable in war that Martin was obliged to grant him an

[1] Murat., iii. ii. 1123. Martin suspected a fanatical reformer in Bernardino. He forbade him to wear the badge of the name of Jesus, which was later adopted by the Jesuits.

[2] Bull 1, February 1423, Theiner, *Cod. Dipl. Dominii Temporal*, n. 217.—On March 13, 1422, he prolonged the truce between the Romans and the barons for a year. *Ibid.*, n. 209.

amnesty. On the other hand the greater number of the Roman baronial families were sunk in debt and poverty. The Anibaldi sat powerless in their Latin hereditary estates, likewise the Conti, Gaetani, and Savelli. Only the Orsini and Colonna retained sufficient power to exercise influence in Rome. Besides their property on each side the Tiber, these families also owned large fiefs in the kingdom of Naples, and during the latter times of the schism had acquired prestige by the military fame of their members. Now that a Colonna had become pope, their hereditary enmity found fresh nourishment. Love for his house, as well as the desire for personal safety, urged Martin V. to extravagant nepotism, and with him began the efforts of the popes to aggrandise their families, now at the expense of Naples, now at that of the State of the Church. Through Queen Joanna he had provided his two brothers with valuable fiefs, Jordan having become Duke of Amalfi and Venosa, Prince of Salerno and Count of Celano, while Lorenzo had received the county of Alba in Marsian territory.[1] The Pope himself added to the hereditary estates of his house by several fortresses in the Roman district, which he exempted from taxes. The Colonna by degrees acquired Marino, Ardea, Frascati, Rocca di Papa, Petra Porzia, Soriano, Nettuno, Astura, Palliano and Serrone, and thus became rulers of the greater part of Latium.[2] The Pope gave his nephews the right

Power of the Orsini and Colonna.

Nepotism of Martin V.

[1] C. Min. Riccio, *Saggio di Cod. Dipl.*, ii. n. 50. Deed of Joanna of August 3, 1419.

[2] Coppi, *Mem. Colonn.*—Ardea was a possession of S. Paul's

of maintaining garrisons even in remote fortresses of Umbria and the Romagna. But the increase of the domestic power of the Colonna necessarily entailed fresh feuds with their hereditary enemies. While the centre of the Colonna possessions lay in Latium, the Orsini reigned in Tuscany and the Sabina. As early as the fourteenth century, they had acquired large districts round the lake of Bracciano, while since ancient times they had owned Monte Rotondo and Nomentum, as well as the surrounding Sabine territory to the frontiers of the Abruzzi. For they had here long since annexed Tagliacozzo.[1] And it was precisely for the posses-

(Act of Vassalage, *Castri Ardee*, May 14, 1421, attested by 70 inhabitants; Colonna Archives, *Instr. del Sgr. Giordano Col.*). Nettuno and Astura belonged to Orsini of Nola, in exchange for which Martin caused Joanna II. to invest him with Sarno and Palma: *Giornali Napol.*, Murat., xxi. 1092.—According to the division of the hereditary property made on February 1, 1427 (Contelor., *Vita Mart.*, v.): Antonio, Prospero and Odoardo, the sons of Lorenzo, received *pro indiviso*: Capranica, Cave, Cicigliano, Genazzano, Olevano, Paliano, Pisciano, Rocca di Cave, Vito and Serrone; Antonio for himself: Astura, Carpineto, Castro, Cheggia, Collepardo, Guercino, Giuliano, Monte S. Giovanni, Morolo, Mugnano, Nettuno, Ripi, S. Stefano, Strangolagalli, Supino, Trivigliano and Vico; Prospero: Ardea, Frascati, Marino, Molara, Monte Compatri and Rocca di Papa; Odoardo: Alba and Celano, Civitella, Fragiano, Monte della Guardia and Monterano.—On October 28, 1427, Antonio bought, in addition, Nepi for 3000 florins from Raynald Orsini: Colonna Archives, *Scf.*, xiv. n. 354. The Chapter of the Lateran had sold Frascati to Jordan Colonna for 10,000 florins, December 30, 1423. *Ibid.*, n. 339.

[1] Boniface VIII. had confiscated *castra Rivifrigidi*, *Lacus Rumanelli* and *Montis S. Heliae*, estates of the Colonna, and given them to the Orsini. Orsini Archives, T. 131. n. 3. The oldest deed in these archives concerning Tagliacozzo and Alba is a diploma of Charles II., Rome, March 6, 1294, in which he bestows half of Tagliacozzo on

sion of the Marsian territory, into which the Colonna now forced their way, that the quarrel was rekindled between the two families. Martin acted with caution towards the Orsini, whose favour he had already striven to gain in the first years of his pontificate, especially as the accomplished Cardinal Jordan had been one of the chief agents in his elevation to the Papacy. The war between the two houses could not, however, long be retarded.[1]

Death of Martin's brothers.

Meanwhile the Pope saw his brothers pass away. Lorenzo perished in a fire in a tower in the Abruzzi, in 1423, and Jordan died childless at Marino on June 16, 1424. Antonio, Prospero and Odoardo, sons of Lorenzo, continued the race. The youthful Antonio, Prince of Salerno, Martin even hoped to raise to the throne of Naples. On May 24, 1426, he appointed Prospero cardinal of S. Giorgio in Velabro, but on account of his youth did not announce his promotion until 1430. On his sister Paola, wife of Gherardo Appiano, lord of Piombino, Martin bestowed Frascati.[2] On January 23, 1424, he had

Jacobo Ursini fil. qd. Napoleonis. Robert gives the same to Orso Orsini on July 25, 1329.—On August 25, 1409, Lewis II. invests Jacopo Orsini of Tagliacozzo with Alba.—On June 6, 1415, Joanna II. ratifies Joh. Anton. Orsini in possession of Tagliacozzo. I gratefully here acknowledge the liberality with which Don Filippo Orsini has placed at my disposal the archives of his celebrated house. Unfortunately the documents of the ancient archives of Bracciano have almost entirely perished, although I found the register still extant.

[1] Martin gave to the brothers Francesco, Carlo and Orsino, the vicariate of Bracciano on September 1, 1419. Orsini Archives, T. 91. n. 2.

[2] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il Com. di Firenze dal*, 1399–1433, Flor. 1869; vol. ii. 160.

given Catherine, daughter of Lorenzo, in marriage to Guidantonio Montefeltre, Count of Urbino. This union, which was pompously celebrated in Rome, inaugurated a long series of family alliances in the fifteenth century.[1] So entirely devoted was Martin to the memory of his house that after 1424 he even took up his abode in the Colonna palace near the Santi Apostoli, undaunted to dwell among the Romans in his ancestral home. He had restored this palace, and he also built the castle of Genazzano on the Campagna, where he had himself been born and where he occasionally sojourned when driven from Rome by heat or pestilence.[2]

Ruling with vigour and prudence in the city, where he was obeyed by the magistracy, the barons and the cardinals, Martin V. was also favoured by fortune in the provinces of the Church. A feeble link with the papal authority scarcely gave these provinces the semblance of a state. The cities of Umbria, the Romagna, and the Marches were either free or in the power of tyrants, who in some places

[1] Ugolini, *Storia dei Conti e Duchi d' Urbino*, i. 221. Guidantonio, father of the celebrated Federigo, was a widower.

[2] *Palatium etiam Basil. XII. Apostolor. Vita Mart.*, v., Murat., iii. ii. 858. It was the apostolic residence even in the sixteenth century. In 1506, Julius II. presented Marcantonio Colonna with an ancient palace beside SS. Apostoli, which he had rebuilt.—Concerning the castle of Genazzano, see Andr. Billius, Murat., xix. 142. That Martin was born there is asserted by the traditions of the house: Girol. Senni, *Mem. di Genazzano*, Rome, 1838. The *castellum qui appellatur Gennazano* is first mentioned in 1022: Petrini, *Mem. Prenest.*, p. 109. In 1426 Martin received there the father of the Count of Armagnac, who abjured the schism. He spent summers also at Gallicano, Tivoli, Frascati and Molara.

refused to recognise the supremacy of the Church, in others recognised it only as its vicars. Among these vassals Braccio of Montone was the most powerful. It was only by a treaty with this condottiere that Martin had made possible his own return to Rome, and he then utilised his arms to recover Bologna to obedience. But the Pope had been obliged to cede Braccio the vicariate over Perugia, Assisi, Todi and other places. And the dreaded tyrant of Umbria only waited the opportunity to found a principality out of the estates of the Church. He was meantime drawn into the perplexities of the kingdom of Naples, where he met his end.

Beginning of the War of Succession in Naples.

This ancient fief of the Sacred Chair took the foremost place in Martin's secular policy. Several popes had already sought to acquire it for their nephews; Martin cherished like hopes. For the last heir of the house of Anjou-Durazzo was a characterless woman, the plaything of court intrigues and of the will of her favourite, the Grand-seneschal Ser Gianni Caracciolo. Before his return to Rome, Martin had recognised Joanna II. and had allowed her to be crowned by his legates. But even while in Florence he had quarrelled with her, the arrears of tribute having afforded a not unwelcome pretext. He was still more annoyed that after he had sent Sforza to drive Braccio from the State of the Church, the queen did not support the general. The aggrieved Sforza summoned Lewis of Anjou to the conquest of the Kingdom, and Martin, who was still in Florence, gave his assent to the scheme.

When the condottiere now again raised the banner of Anjou in Naples, the irresolute queen was driven to the momentous resolution of inviting the King of Aragon into her country.

Alfonso of Aragon, Pretender to the Crown of Naples, 1421.

The spirited Alfonso was engaged in laying siege to Bonifazio in Corsica, when the Neapolitan envoys offered him the prospect of the magnificent kingdom, and invited him to deliver Joanna from her enemies Sforza and Anjou. He sent a fleet, which struck terror into Naples, then arrived in person in July 1421, when the queen adopted him as her successor. The step roused the anger of the Pope; for how could he permit the Neapolitan throne to be occupied by a monarch who already owned Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia? Two candidates henceforward contended for the crown of Naples; on the side of Aragon stood Braccio, who, summoned by Joanna, had been appointed constable of the Kingdom and on whom she had bestowed Capua and Aquila; on the side of Anjou, Braccio's mortal enemies Sforza and the Pope. Alfonzo kept the Pope in alarm with the anti-pope Benedict XIII., who still remained in the fortress of Peniscola. Anjou was unfortunate; he soon came to Rome entreating aid, and Martin now strove to obtain by diplomatic wiles the object that weapons had denied him. The fickle Joanna in fact soon quarrelled with Alfonso. On July 1, 1423, she revoked his adoption, and to the great joy of the Pope elected Lewis of Anjou her heir. Martin, anxious to gain the recognition of Anjou at all costs, invited the Duke of Milan to join him in keeping Aragon away from Italy; and Filippo

Joanna adopts Lewis of Anjou 1423.

Visconti actually came to his aid with a Genoese fleet. Meanwhile Braccio, already master of Capua and a partisan of Alfonso, had advanced against Aquila, which still held out for Joanna. Had he united this city with his other possessions, the great condottiere would thence have enclosed Rome as with an iron ring extending from Perugia.

Siege of Aquila; death of Sforza.

The Pope recognised the importance of Aquila; he sent troops to the aid of Sforza, whom the queen had entrusted with the relief of the town in December 1423. But in attempting to ride in armour across the river Pescara, the celebrated warrior was drowned before the eyes of his army, as Parcival Doria the friend of Manfred had been drowned in the Nera.[1] Sforza, who had risen from the soil to the highest honours and with whose fame Italy resounded, bequeathed his name, his property, his ambition and a still greater degree of fortune to one of his bastard children, the afterwards world-renowned Francesco, who began his career under his father's banner, continued it in the service of the Queen of Naples and other employers, and triumphantly closed it on the ducal throne of Milan. The death of the only rival of like birth with himself now opened to Braccio far-reaching prospects of success. He sent a message to the Pope, that he would soon reduce him to such extremities that he would read a hundred masses for a denarius. He redoubled his exertions for the conquest of Aquila, but the city, founded by the Hohenstaufen Conrad, covered itself

1424.

[1] On January 3, 1424, Simoneta, *Hist. F. Sfortiae*, one of the best historical works of this period. Murat., xxi. 186.

with glory by the heroism of its burghers, who for thirteen months offered a victorious resistance to the enemy outside its walls and to famine within.[1] Martin and Joanna sent to its relief troops under Lodovico Colonna, Jacopo Caldora, and Francesco Sforza, so that on each side were assembled the foremost military leaders of the time. Finally on June 2, 1424, a battle decided the fate of South Italy and also the State of the Church. Braccio fell wounded into the enemy's hands. A furious onslaught of the burghers gained the victory, and the liberators entered the jubilant city. The dying condottiere was carried from the battle-field on a shield; he spoke not another word, and died the following day. Born almost at the same time as Sforza, he died in the same year as his rival. The names of these great generals survived in the military schools which they founded; the Sforzeschi and the Bracceschi became factions of political colour as the Guelfs and Ghibellines had been in the Middle Ages.

Death of Braccio of Montone, June 3, 1424.

Lodovico Colonna brought the remains of the enemy, who had died under the ban of the Church, to Rome. The dead hero, formerly the terror of popes, princes, and cities, was thrown like a wild beast outside the gate of S. Lorenzo, where the corpse remained several days before it was buried.[2]

[1] This defence inspired a citizen of Aquila to write a poem, unfortunately of little merit. Murat., *Antiq. Med. Aevi*, vi.

[2] Poggio, probably an eye-witness, *de Variet. Fort.*, p. 74. Murat., iii. ii. 866. According to the *Giornali Napol.*, p. 1092, Braccio was buried near S. Lorenzo. Eugenius IV., however, permitted his remains to be taken to Perugia: *Commentar. Pii*, ii. p. 70; or Niccolò Fortebraccio removed them by force: Ricotti, *Compagnie di ventura*, ii. 287.

The Romans celebrated festivals of joy; the nobility bearing torches conducted Jordan, brother of the Pope, to the Vatican. Martin might well be glad, for the man who had hitherto prevented the restoration of the ecclesiastical state was now no more. All the towns occupied by Braccio,—Perugia, Todi, Assisi,—surrendered to the Church either immediately or within a few years, Braccio's widow, Nicolina Varano, being unable to retain them, especially after her son Oddo had fallen in war. The power of the Pope now also terrified the petty dynasts in the Marches. The young Sforza in his service advanced against Foligno, where he compelled Corrado Trincia to submission. Forli, Fermo, Imola, Ascoli, Sinigaglia soon again did homage to the Sacred Chair, from whose obedience they had been withdrawn by their signors during the schism.

Umbria and the Romagna do homage to the Pope.

Martin V. was now to experience how uncertain was the fidelity of his subjects. In 1428, Bologna expelled the Archbishop of Arles his cardinal-legate, and not until after violent struggles and successful negotiations did the Pope succeed in inducing this powerful city again to accept a legate,—Dominic of Capranica. It made submission to the Church but remained a self-governing republic, which still defied the Pope for another hundred years.

The Italian complications of the time of Martin V. present a chaos of petty wars, in which, beyond the solitary instance of Alfonso, we see nowhere the genius of a statesman, merely the talents of captains of the school of Sforza and Braccio. Such were Carmagnola, Niccolo Piccinino, Francesco Sforza,

Niccolo Fortebraccio, Jacopo Caldora, Niccolo da Tolentino and others. But in the inward ferment of a time, when Italy had almost entirely shaken off the dogma of the Empire, some national powers strove more firmly to establish themselves and to preserve the balance of power; namely Milan, Venice, Florence, the State of the Church and Naples.

Power of Filippo Maria Visconti.

Filippo Maria Visconti, following in the footsteps of his father, endeavoured to found a Lombard kingdom, but the talent of this capricious tyrant of hideous and gigantic presence was not adequate to the task. He was opposed by Florence and Venice, who made an ally of the common enemy, and was only saved by the mediation of the Pope. For Martin could not allow the strength of Milan to be too far reduced, since her enfeeblement would endow Venice with disproportionate strength, and the Venetian republic incessantly aimed at the acquisition of Ravenna and the Marches. From the war with the Visconti she issued with the acquisition of Bergamo. Florence, the last of the Guelf republics, also formed a vigorous popular state. She owned Pisa and aimed at acquiring Lucca and Siena to complete her territory in Tuscany. She weighed heavily in the scale of whatever power she favoured, and was strong enough to preserve the balance among the Italian States, as the centre of gravity of which under the Medici she could soon regard herself. The State of the Church only now re-erected itself on the ruins of the Roman Commune and the constitutions of other cities, and although still weak and insecure,

she already visibly contained the germ of the papal temporal monarchy. Had the popes, who now entered the ranks of the Italian territorial princes, but been able to include the vassal state of Naples in their dominion, they would have obtained the hegemony of Italy. But the extinction of the race of Durazzo produced a dynastic revolution, which decided the fate of the entire peninsula. Aragon, and, through Aragon, Spain later came forward as pretender to the crown of Naples, while the house of Anjou induced France to appear on the scene of action. In the north, where the Orleans made good their claim to the heritage of the Visconti, Milan threatened to become the subject of a quarrel between France and the empire, which at a more favourable moment might resume its rights of supremacy.

The reign of Martin V. was on the whole a successful restoration of the Papacy. In 1429 also expired the last remains of the schism through the resignation of Muñoz the anti-pope, a step which was in great part due not only to Cardinal Peter of Foix, but also to Alfonso Borgia, counsellor to the King of Aragon. Alfonso received in reward the bishopric of Valencia, and the name of Borgia thus comes into notice.

The Hussites and the Council.

On the other hand, the results of the Council of Constance were severely felt during Martin's pontificate, in the shape of the Hussite heresy and the duty of reforming the Church. Huss survived in the spirit of his friends and avengers; his martyrdom and his teachings inflamed the Bohemian

people and produced that terrible religious war under Ziska and Procopius, which, equal in ferocity to the Albigensian, surpassed it in extent and plunged the German Empire into deepest chaos. Martin summoned Christendom to join in a crusade against the Hussites, but the German army was almost everywhere defeated. The fire could only have been quenched by the reformation within the Church itself, but already at Constance the necessities of the time had caused Martin to evade the duty. He restored the monarchical authority of the Papacy, subjugated the College of Cardinals to his will, and laid the foundations of the princely power of the Sacred Chair. But he did absolutely nothing for the reformation even of his own Curia; did not abolish one of the abuses with regard to benefices, traffic in offices and the system of fees against which the Council had raised its voice, but on the contrary added to these evils.[1] The decrees of Constance had imposed on him the duty of summoning the Council again in five years at Pavia. Forced by necessity he convoked it there in 1423, and sent his legates to open it. The appearance of the pestilence gave him the desired pretext for removing it to Siena; but there also a formidable contest against the despotic authority of the Papacy arose. The opposition of Europe to his despotism and to the usurpation of the Roman Curia of the

Martin V. withdraws from the Council.

[1] The envoys of the Teutonic Order described the avarice that prevailed at Martin's Court, where the Protonotary Hermann Dwerges was all-powerful. "Voices from Rome concerning the papal court in the fifteenth century." Raumer, *Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1883.

rights of the Catholic Church had only been temporarily repressed by Martin V. He was himself satisfied with the outward peace in which the Church again appeared united and which restored splendour and power to the previously slighted Papacy. He set the Papacy in the place of the Church, without thinking of the consequences which the delay of reform must entail. Since the papal power was his sole idea, he shrank affrighted from the thought of the revival of the terrible opposition which any Council must necessarily raise. Martin also hastened to dissolve the ecclesiastical council at Siena on February 19, 1424, commanding it not to assemble for seven years and then at Basle. The reforms in the Curia were finally restricted to a constitution, by which the luxury of the cardinals was to be reduced, but the measure remained entirely abortive. On the other hand, the Pope rendered a real service by bringing more men into the Sacred College, men whose virtues or culture soon endowed it with increased prestige. Among those whom he appointed on May 24, 1426, were Louis d'Aleman, Bishop of Arles, and a zealous promoter of reform, the pious Albergati, Julian Cesarini, a man greatly admired by his contemporaries, of entire nobility of mind and nature, further the highly educated Domenico Capranica, and his own nephew Prospero Colonna, who by his solicitude for learning was afterwards to prove himself worthy of the purple.[1]

[1] Besides these men, he also elected Jean de Rochetaillade, Archbishop of Rheims; the intriguing Henry Beaufort of the house of

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The time for the opening of the Council at Basle drew near. Martin probably hoped to escape this ecclesiastical assembly also, but the threats of the princes of the German Empire, who hoped that the tranquillisation of the Hussite war might thereby be obtained, forced him to appoint his legates. On November 8, 1430, a placard was found posted near the Vatican, which threatened the Pope and cardinals with deposition as heretics if they prevented the ecclesiastical council.[1] But, fortunately for himself perhaps, the Pope died suddenly of apoplexy in the Palace beside SS. Apostoli on February 20, 1431. The historic greatness of Martin V. consists solely in the fact that he ended the schism and as pope of the union again ascended the Sacred Chair in Rome. He was a shrewd man of acute insight into all that was immediate and practical; was moderate and firm, of princely strength of will, mild in manner and of engaging personality; the restorer of the Papacy and also of Rome. We may praise him in that, for the sake of economy, he scorned pomp and splendour. The Renascence, which scarcely twenty years later surrounded the Papacy with theatrical magnificence, under Martin himself—a son of the rude fourteenth century—was preceded by an entirely practical restoration. He found the coffers of the Church

Death of Martin V., Feb. 20, 1431.

Lancaster; John of Prague, Bishop of Olmütz; Antonio Casini, Bishop of Siena; Raymund Morosini; Antonio Cervantes; Ardicinus de la Porta; Hugo of Cyprus.—Vespasiano de Bisticci (*vite di nom. ill. del sec.*, xv., Mai, *Spicil. Rom.*, i.) saw the biographies of several of these cardinals written.

[1] Martene, *Ampl. Coll.*, viii. 48. Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, iii. 516.

reduced to utter exhaustion. And this was perhaps the reason not only for the economy, with which he "miserably held his court in the Palace of the Apostles," but also for his avarice and greed. For with both these faults, as also with his nepotism, contemporaries reproach him, with reason.[1] He unscrupulously bestowed the property of the Church on his relations, heedless of the opposition of the Cardinals. A hundred years later Cardinal Egidius expressed the opinion that Martin V. had laid the foundations of the greatness of the Papacy, which attained its zenith in the time of Julius II.; that he restored a golden age of peace to the Church, but that amid the gain of wealth and power the authority of virtue had perished withal.[2]

Rome mourned the loss of republican freedom under a pope who gave the people a just government and increasing prosperity. During his reign the clash of arms was scarcely heard. And a Roman chronicler says that in the time of Martin V. a man with money might travel many miles from Rome without danger.[3] With Martin too a new epoch began for the city. From barbarism she rose by degrees to a civilised aspect. On Martin's bronze monument in the Lateran his grateful family

[1] *Avarissimus fuit, miserabilis in Palatio apud Sctos ap. vixit. Nulla elligio, nulla coerimonia servabatur; magnum thesaurum Nepotib cumulavit, et castra multa Ecclesiae circa Roman eis debit. Vita*, Murat., iii. ii. 859. Billius, Murat., xix. 142.

[2] *Auctis gazis ac potentia honesti virtutisque interiit auctoritas.* Hist. xx. Saecul. (Mscr. in the Angelica.)

[3] *Memorie di Paolo di Benedetto di Cola di Mastro di Ponte.* Chronicle of 1431–1476; *Mscr. Chigi*, N. ii. 32.—*Vita*, p. 866.

inscribed the finest title of honour that can be bestowed on a prince: "*Temporum suorum felicitas.*" And when we consider the terrible suffering of the period of the schism, the praise does not seem entirely unfounded.

2. Eugenius IV. Pope, 1431—The Election-pledges—The Orsini rise against the Colonna—Destruction of the Colonna by Eugenius—Opening of the Council of Basle, 1431—Cardinal Cesarini—Outbreak of hostilities between the Council and the Pope—Sigismund in Italy—His Coronation in Lombardy—His Treaty with the Pope—His Imperial Coronation, May 31, 1443.

Eugenius IV. Pope, 1431–1447.

The unanimous vote of the Cardinals assembled in the Minerva, among whom the Orsini faction preponderated, raised the Venetian, Gabriel Condulmer, to the Papacy on March 3, 1431. Eugenius IV., son of a sister of Gregory XII., had begun life as a Celestine monk in S. Giorgio in Alga at Venice, had risen during the schism, been made Bishop of Siena and in 1408 Cardinal of S. Clemente by his uncle, and under Martin V. had been Legate of the Marches. At the vigorous age of forty-seven, his serious and distinguished demeanour and great height gave the impression of a commanding character. His temperament, on the contrary, was vacillating and excitable. The pious Condulmer was devoid of humanistic culture, was inexperienced in secular affairs, and, perhaps precisely on this account, was induced hastily to interfere in them.

While still in Conclave, Eugenius IV. had sworn to the articles of an election capitulation. Like the elector princes of the Empire, the Cardinals put forward conditions of election by the Conclave, pledging the new pope not to remove the Curia from Rome, to summon a Council, to reform the Church. These articles formed essentially a restriction of the papal power, and such restriction seemed particularly necessary after the death of Martin, who had permitted so many depredations on the property of the Church in favour of his nephews, and by his despotic conduct had offended the Sacred College. The College now strove to secure to itself the rights of the Senate, which ruled in conjunction with it, and it succeeded under weak, but never under vigorous popes. Every newly-elected pontiff henceforth swore to respect the privileges of the Cardinals; never to touch their revenues, dignities, or persons; to oblige all vassals and rectors in the State of the Church, as all officials of the city of Rome, to respect the cardinals as well as himself; not to give away any Church property, not to make war, and, as concerned the State of the Church, not to undertake anything of importance without the express consent of the Cardinals. The Cardinals formed an oligarchy furnished with ever-increasing rights, and the constitution of the Papacy would have become aristocratic, had not the popes possessed a thousand means, especially in the bestowal of benefices, of making their peers dependent on themselves.[1]

The Capitulations of Election.

[1] The Capitulation of Election of March 2, 1431 (which is, however, incomplete), is found in Raynald, n. v. The formula of such a

Eugenius IV. was consecrated and crowned on March 11. His papal name was not of good augury, recalling, as it did, the hardships of Eugenius III. for whom S. Bernard wrote his book "De Contemplatione," and soon after his elevation Traversari, the learned Camaldolese, hastened to present this manual of instruction in the difficult art of being pope to the fourth Eugenius.

After the restoration the Pope again commanded respect in the world, influence in Italy, princely power in Rome and in the State of the Church, as also a well-filled treasury. Nevertheless Martin's successor encountered so many misfortunes, that the darkest days of the schism seemed to be revived. He was threatened by the Council of Basle, the convocation of which he had ratified as early as March 12, 1431; but even before it assembled, a storm broke over him in Rome.

Fall of the Colonna under Eugenius IV.

Scarcely was Eugenius pope when he favoured the Orsini, and, instigated by the enemies of the Colonna—Cardinals Jordan Orsini and Lucido Conti—persecuted the latter house. Martin V. had left his nephews in affluence and power. These were the youthful sons of Lorenzo and Sveva Gaetani: Antonio Prince of Salerno, Odoardo Count of Celano, and the two-and-twenty years old Cardinal Prospero. Their troops held S. Angelo, Ostia, and other fortresses of the Church. Their mercenaries even occupied towers in the Marches. True, they surrendered the Roman fortresses to the new pope,

capitulation is given in its entirety in the *Diarum* of Burkhard from the Conclave of Innocent VIII.

and brought him gifts of homage; they were accused of having appropriated the wealth which their uncle had collected for the Turkish war, as well as the papal jewels which had been kept in the Palace of SS. Apostoli. The hot-tempered Eugenius caused his predecessor's chamberlain to be arrested on April 11, in order to extort a confession. Stephen, son of Nicholas Colonna of the house of Sciarra, who was at the time Captain of the Church, and who had quarrelled with his cousins, executed the arrest with such brutality that the Pope himself threatened punishment. He fled to Palestrina. Cardinal Prospero also left the city. These haughty nephews of a still highly-respected pope met the violence of Eugenius with a violence equally blind.[1] His conduct was arbitrary but not unreasonable, since, anxious to keep clear of nepotism himself, he clearly recognised that he could not rule in Rome without humbling the Colonnas, whom his predecessor had made so powerful. On his demand for the surrender of several places, the legal investiture of which by Martin V. he disputed, the barons assembled their forces and marched with them to Marino. They were joined by relations and dependents of the Conti, Gaetani, and Savelli, also by Conrad of Antioch, a descendant of the ancient Ghibelline family, which still remained in possession of Castel Piglio. Disaffected Romans, friends of the ancient republic, offered their services. Once more the

The Colonna make war against Eugenius.

[1] Poggio, *de Varietate*, p. 102, blames Martin for having left his nephews so rich in property, so poor in counsellors. He censures Eugenius's attitude towards the Colonna; Platina even calls it *vesania*.

Ghibelline nobility rose in arms against the Papacy. And thus Eugenius IV. was scarcely seated a month upon the throne, when he found himself face to face with all the horrors of civil war.

They force an entrance into Rome.

The Prince of Salerno stormed the Porta Appia on April 23. Stephen Colonna entered the city, where he entrenched himself in his palace beside S. Marco. Nevertheless the people did not rise; on the contrary, the intruders were expelled by papal troops, who sacked the houses of the Colonna, Martin's palace itself, and the dwelling of Cardinal Capranica. Domenico Pantagati, from the Colonna rock-fortress of Capranica near Palestrina, who was then Bishop of Fermo, had been made a Cardinal by Martin V. in 1426, but had never been proclaimed. Martin, however, had commanded that the Cardinals, whose appointments had not yet been published, should be admitted to the Conclave on his death. Capranica consequently hastened to the neighbourhood of Rome to demand admittance to the papal election. It was refused, since the Orsini faction so desired. With difficulty he escaped the snares laid by Eugenius, who refused him the cardinal's hat, and brought a suit against him. Pantagati immediately appealed to the Council.[1]

Cardinal Capranica.

Driven from Rome, the Colonna held the territory of the city. They entered into alliance with Filippo Visconti, who in a Venetian pope justly recog-

[1] *Card. Firmani vita*, by Baptiste Poggio, son of the celebrated humanist, in Baluzius, *Miscell.*, iii. 267.—Mich. Catalani, *de vita et scriptis Dom. Capranicae*, Fermo, 1793.

nised an enemy. In proportion to the love which Martin V. had received in Rome, was the hatred encountered by Eugenius. A conspiracy was discovered, by the terms of which it had been arranged that S. Angelo was to be surprised, and the Pope put to death or expelled with the Orsini. A trial for high treason was instituted, when more than two hundred persons were condemned, some to prison, some to the scaffold; and Rome was thus suddenly plunged into all the horrors of the worst days of her past.[1] After Eugenius had excommunicated the Colonna on May 18, 1431, war raged fiercely throughout the whole of Latium.[2] Queen Joanna sent troops under Jacopo Caldora; but, bribed by the Orsini, this captain soon ceased to take any steps. Auxiliaries from Venice and Florence were more active; for Niccolo of Tolentino reduced the barons to such extremities, that Eugenius might have utterly routed them, had not a sudden illness, which was ascribed to poison, rendered him powerless. He offered to make peace, and peace was concluded on September 22, 1431, under the following conditions. The insurgents paid 75,000 ducats, surrendered Narni, Orte, and Soriano, recalled their captains from all those fortresses of the State of the Church, the occupation of which had been confided

The Colonna War in Latium.

Peace with the Colonna, Sept. 1431.

[1] The heads of the conspiracy were the Archbishop of Benevento and Prior Thomas, both Colonnas. Infessura, Platina, *Vita Eugenii*, in Muratori, iii. ii. 869; and the bull of excommunication.

[2] Bull of excommunication, *XV. Kal. Jun. A. I.*, *Vita Eugenii*, where the date of the month must be corrected. *Improba domus sive progenies de Columna*, says Eugenius, and he quotes the sentence of Boniface VIII.

to them by Martin V.[1] Eugenius had thus the satisfaction of having humiliated the mightiest family of Rome; but at the same time he made vindictive enemies. Jacopo of Vico, the city prefect and an ally of the Colonnas, had also been involved in the war, and Niccolo Fortebraccio, then Captain of the Church, and John Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, had driven him from his property to Tuscany.

Scarcely was the struggle ended when the date arrived for the opening of the Council. Important questions were to be dealt with: the reform of the Church, the suppression of the Hussite disturbances, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, towards which the Byzantine Emperor, sore harassed by the Turks, offered his aid. Sigismund, the Roman Emperor, hoped through the Council to obtain reconciliation with Bohemia, to strengthen his imperial authority, and, lastly, to unite all the forces of Christendom for the war against the Turks. Eugenius dreaded this assembly. For since the decrees of Constance, the Council, as organ of the needs of the universal Church, appeared in opposition to the papal power. It menaced the Roman hierarchy with a reform which should begin with its head. The popes shrank before it; not only because a hundred abuses, and at the same time a hundred privileges, were combined in their rule, but also because reform was an almost superhuman task. Martin had been able to avert the opposition of the

[1] Blondus, *Hist.*, iii. lib. 4, 461. Sabellicus, *Ennead.*, x. 2. Joanna also took Salerno and other places from Antonio Colonna.

bishops of Europe, which, curbed for twelve years, was now to confront his successor with redoubled force.

Eugenius ratified as his plenipotentiary to the Council Cardinal Cesarini, whom Martin had previously appointed. This distinguished man belonged to a Roman family, which in him first becomes historic. His father, Julian, was a poor nobleman.[1] Cesarini, born in 1398, had studied both branches of the law, had filled with renown a professor's chair in Padua, and had been made Cardinal-deacon of S. Angelo by Martin in 1426. Learning, eloquence, enthusiasm for the moral greatness of the Church, and diplomatic talent assured him a distinguished future. Martin had sent him as legate to Germany, to rouse the princes of the empire to make war on the Hussites and to preside at the Council, and Cesarini undertook the important task, filled with zeal for the Church, and fully convinced that her salvation from ruin would be effected by the instrumentality of a Council. Eugenius now commanded the Cardinal to open the Council, as soon as a sufficient number of prelates should be forthcoming. The bishops, however, arrived in Basle after March 1431, but by slow degrees. Cesarini himself, still absent in the campaign against the Hussites, only made his appearance on September 9, after the terrible defeat of the German imperial army at Tauss. He had,

Cardinal Cesarini.

[1] *Vita* of the Cardinal by Vespasiano, in A. Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, i. For 500 years, says the biographer, the Church had not had his equal.

He opens the Council at Basle, 1431.

however, caused his deputy to open the Council as early as July 23.[1]

But the profound distrust which the Curia evinced towards the ecclesiastical assembly, and the assembly towards the Curia, retarded the proceedings, and Eugenius soon repented of having convoked the Council at a place so far from Italy, where it could turn for support to neighbouring France, to the King of the Romans, and to Germany, saturated with heretical influences. Under trivial pretexts he dissolved it by a bull on December 18, 1431, and appointed it to meet afresh at Bologna after an interval of eighteen months. The step immediately produced differences between himself and the Council, which now made war on the Papal power as a despotic authority at variance with the ecclesiastical constitution, and took its stand on the ground acquired at Constance. The assembled fathers refused to obey the bull; they sent protests to Rome; Sigismund did the same; Cesarini himself, seriously concerned, represented to the Pope the confusion into which the Church must be thrown were she again deceived with regard to reform. He prophesied truly the future.[2]

Eugenius IV removes the Council to Bologna.

Powers and peoples ranged themselves on the side

[1] Acts in Martene, *Vet. Monum. Amp. Coll.*, viii., and in Mansi, xxix.–xxxi.

[2] *Quid dicet universus orbis, cum hoc sentiet? Nonne judicabit clerum esse incorrigibilem et velle semper in suis deformitatibus sordescere? — Animi hominum praegnantes sunt.* . . . For these excellent letters to the Pope of January 13 and June 5, 1432, see *Aen. Sylv. Op.*, Basle, 1551, p. 64. and *Fasciculus rer. expetendar*, Cologne, 1535, p. 27, *sq.*

of the Council. Its numbers increased day by day. In the spring of 1432 Capranica also appeared, a man of unblemished purity of character, accompanied by his secretary Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, to prefer a complaint against Eugenius. The Council confirmed him in his cardinal's dignity, and other cardinals soon arrived, who had secretly fled from Rome. Public opinion turned resolutely against the despotic power of the Roman chair and the teachings of the Thomists, which asserted that the Pope was infallible, and absolute dictator of the Church. The episcopacy again made good its rights against Rome.[1] As early as January 21, the assembly at Basle revived the great principles of Constance, which declared that the Œcumenical Council representing the universal Church was independent and indissoluble, and stood above the Pope; and on April 29 they summoned Eugenius to appear to defend himself, either in person or by representative, in three months. The approval of the King of France, but above all that of Sigismund, zealous for reform, gave them courage to venture on this constitutional struggle with the Pope, the issue of which must decide the future of the Church.

[1] *Rom. pont. est membrum Eccl., et infallibilitas non cuilibet membro, sed toti Eccl. promissa est.* Thus Cusa in his pamphlet completed at Basle in 1432: *De concord.*, ii. 18. Pichler, *Gesch. der Kirchl. Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident*, Munich, 1864, ii. 250. See the history of the theory of the papal infallibility and the contest it evoked in the Church itself in *Der Papst und das Concil*, by Janus, Leipzig, 1869. This book, called forth by the Council of 1869, continues the long chain of protests produced by liberal-minded Catholics, more especially those of Germany, from the time of Lewis the Bavarian.

Sigismund comes to Italy for his coronation.

The King of the Romans was at this time in Italy, whither he had gone in November 1431, in order to restore the rights of the empire, and according to ancient custom to take the two crowns in Milan and in Rome. Whimsical though this belated desire for a title may appear, it was at least almost intelligible at the time. Without an army, and accompanied by only a few Hungarian cavalry, Sigismund could make no impression on the Italians, who mocked at his majesty. He moreover endangered the cause of reform, giving the Pope the opportunity of allying the imperial coronation to conditions which were directed against the Council.

Sigismund found Italy filled with the internal wars which had afflicted the country for nearly a hundred years. Florence and Venice still fought against the Duke of Milan, who had been favoured by the King of the Romans. The Duke had even summoned Sigismund to his aid and had formed an alliance with him against Venice, while Eugenius, as a Venetian, felt himself called on to take part against the Visconti.[1] On November 25, 1431, Sigismund took the Iron Crown in S. Ambrogio and spent the winter in Milan, although Filippo Maria never deigned to accord him a personal interview. He desired immediately to proceed to Rome, where the Colonna awaited him. But Eugenius opposed the journey, not only from enmity to Milan, but also from distrust of the Council, which Sigismund protected. In the beginning of the following year Sigismund withdrew to Piacenza.

His coronation in Milan, Nov. 25, 1431.

[1] *Annales Bonincontrii*, Murat., xxi. 238.

He there learnt of the publication of the bull by Eugenius for the dissolution of the Council, and sent a letter of protest to the Pope.[1] He then went to Parma and Lucca. Lucca, as well as Siena, was an ally of the Duke against Florence, and the Florentine republic urgently remonstrated with the Pope against Sigismund's coronation. She persuaded him to join his troops with her own to prevent the King crossing the Arno, but was unable to hinder Sigismund's advance. He succeeded in reaching Siena, which he entered on July 11, 1432, being received with magnificent festivals.[2] He remained here, imprisoned as it were, during nine long months, to the despair of the Siennese, who were obliged to entertain their costly guest and his rapacious court. He carried on brisk negotiations with the Pope for his imperial coronation, Eugenius demanding as its price the Emperor's consent to the removal of the Council to some Italian city. This, however, he did not obtain. Sigismund had solemnly promised the fathers in Basle not to take the imperial crown until the Pope had recognised the Council. The Council had already proceeded with energy against the Pope. It had impeached him on September 6, 1432, and on December 18 had summoned him to revoke his bull within sixty

Sigismund in Siena.

[1] Letter of January 9, 1432; also the *Avisamenta ad Dom. Summ. Pont. ex. parte D. Romanor. Regis:* Goldast, *Constit.*, iii. 427.

[2] The greeting which Sigismund received in Siena from four beautiful women gave rise to the love-romance of the Chancellor Gaspar Schlick, which Piccolomini related in the story entitled, *Historia de Eurialo et Lucretia*, in *Pii II. Epist.* Milan, 1496, n. 114.

days, under threat of legal proceedings. Princes and peoples, synods and universities, assented to these vigorous measures and gave the Papacy no aid. Eugenius feared deposition; he carried on negotiations with Basle and with Sigismund at the same time. On February 14 he made a first concession. He issued a bull, in which he ambiguously announced that through his legates he would allow a Council to be held at Basle.[1] But the fathers required the revocation of the bull of dissolution, and the clear recognition that the Council was already opened and legally existed. They demanded Sigismund's return.[2] The King, however, was too deeply involved in negotiations with the Pope; he found himself in serious perplexity in Siena; without the crown, he would not turn at the very gates of Rome, and he consequently professed himself satisfied with Eugenius's promises.

He forms a treaty with the Pope.

On April 8 his plenipotentiaries, Caspar Schlick and Count Matiko, concluded the coronation treaty in Rome. They therein promised to procure the recognition by Christendom of Eugenius IV. as undoubted Pope.[3] The Council received the news, and its remonstrance to the King was now too late. Since the peace had also been signed between Florence, Venice, and Milan on April 26, Eugenius

[1] *Ad sacram Petri sedem, Romae XVI. Kal. Martii A. IV.*

[2] Wessenberg, *Die grossen Kirchenversammlungen des* 15 *und* 16 *Jahrh.*, ii. 328. George Voigt (*Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1856, vol. i.) has treated the Council of Basle well and clearly. See also Aschbach's *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismund's*, vol. iv.

[3] Martene, *Ampl. Coll.*, viii. 579. Goldast, iii. 431.

summoned the King from Viterbo to Rome. According to treaty he was only to be accompanied by his courtiers, and as such might be reckoned the six hundred cavalry and some hundred infantry with whom the same Sigismund, who had appeared in such pomp in the time of the Council of Constance, now made his pitiful entry.[1]

On May 21, 1433, he rode into the city mounted on a white horse and under a gold baldacchino; a gentleman of benign aspect, with greyish beard, dignified and urbane. He took up his abode in the palace of the Cardinal of Arles beside S. Peter's. He was crowned by Eugenius on May 31, on which occasion he ratified the Constitutions of his predecessors with regard to the State of the Church and the immunities of the clergy.[2] The gorgeous knights, the envoys of the cities and the vassals of Italy, were absent from the coronation procession to the Lateran, and instead of Senators or barons the "Soldan," or captain of the papal police, and a Roman belonging to the house of Mancini, led the Emperor's horse.[3] At the Ponte S. Angelo he

He is crowned in Rome, May 31, 1433.

[1] *Chron. Zanfliet.* Martene, *Ampl. Coll.*, v. 433.

[2] He indeed began the series of Privileges with that of Constantine. Raynald, n. 14: *Sacramentum Sigismundi*, before the coronation; then followed the privilegium *Sublimitatis imperialis* in favour of the clergy, n. 15. After the coronation Sigismund used the bearing of the double-headed eagle on his seal. Aschbach, iv., 119, 465. The "Golden Bull" of Sigismund still bears the legend *Roma caput Mundi.*

[3] Infessura, p. 1125. Eberhard Windeck, c. 188 (in Menken, T. i.), relates the fiction that the Pope adjusted the crown on the Emperor's head with his foot. The entry and coronation are described by Poggio, *Ep. ad Nicolaum* (Baluze, *Misc.*, iii. 183, and *Spicil. Rom.*, x. Ep. v.).

bestowed the dignity of knighthood on several gentlemen, among them, Caspar Schlick, whom he made Count Palatine of the Lateran. Through the act of his coronation Sigismund had revived the traditions of the Middle Ages and turned his back on the new era. The Pope, on the contrary, had thereby acquired a moral force in opposition to the reforming Council. He now won from the Emperor concessions that the King of the Romans had refused to yield. Sigismund cooled toward the Council.

He leaves Rome on Aug. 14, 1433.

He remained in Rome until August 14, in friendly intercourse with the Pope and busily engaged in visiting the monuments of the city, the celebrated antiquary Cyriacus of Ancona acting as his guide.[1] From the states of the Empire, and even from Venice, he begged the expenses of his Roman sojourn, as well as those of his journey home. Finally he took his inglorious departure, and passing through Todi, Perugia and Ferrara to Mantua, made Gianfrancesco Gonzaga margrave on September 22. Now a friend of the Venetians and an enemy of the Visconti, he hastened to Tyrol, and as crowned emperor and modest traveller entered Basle on October 11, 1433.

[1] *Dum saepe tanto cum Principe vetustatum reliquias undique per Urbem disjectas inspectamus:* Kyriaci Ancon. Itinerar. ed. Mehus, p. 21.

3. Fortebraccio and Sforza advance to the Neighbourhood of Rome—Eugenius submits to the Council, December 1433—Sforza becomes Vicar of the March and Gonfalonier of the Church—Rome restores the Republic—Flight of the Pope to Florence, October 1434 — Anarchy in Rome—Fall of the Republic—Vitelleschi occupies Rome, June 1434 — Downfall of the Prefects of Vico, September 1435 — Francesco Orsini, Prefect of the City —Vitelleschi reduces the Latin Barons and Palestrina to subjection — He enters Rome— Palestrina is destroyed — Frightful Ruin of Latium.

Scarcely had the Emperor left Rome when a fresh storm broke forth against the Pope. It did not proceed directly from the Council, although the Council stood in the background as the authority which encouraged the enemies of Eugenius to attack him and to take possession of the State of the Church. Among these enemies the most irreconcilable was Visconti. He first incited Fortebraccio (nephew on his mother's side of the celebrated Braccio) against Eugenius, in whose service the condottiere, with Vitelleschi and Ranuccio Farnese, had made war on the Prefects of Vico, without, as he asserted, receiving a sufficient reward. Fortebraccio pushed rapidly through the Sabina to Rome, and, supported by the Colonna, who thirsted for revenge, took the Ponte Molle on August 25 (1433), and occupied the bridges over the Anio. Eugenius fled to S. Angelo, then to S. Lorenzo in Damaso. At the same time other

Fortebraccio before Rome, Aug. 1433.

leaders, Italiano Furlano and Antonello of Siena, entered the March of Spoleto. The Pope brought troops to Rome, and summoned Vitelleschi, then Rector of the Marches. But after encountering Fortebraccio and the Colonna at Genazzano, Vitelleschi was speedily forced to return to the rebellious Romagna. And Fortebraccio was thus able to enter Tivoli on October 7, 1433, whence he scoured the city territory and held Rome besieged for months. In his letters he called himself Executor of the Sacred Council.[1]

He holds Rome besieged.

On the ground of their alliance with the enemy, Eugenius revived the excommunication against the Colonna on October 9. Prospero, the Cardinal of this house, had fled to Basle, and the fathers of the Council respectfully recommended him and his brothers to the protection of Virginius Orsini.[2] Eugenius also learnt of the revolt of the Marches brought about by the treacherous invasion of Francesco Sforza, whom the Duke of Milan had taken into his pay and had secured to his house by the promise of the hand of Bianca, his only and illegitimate daughter. Sforza, sent by Visconti to the Marches in November 1433, demanded access to Apulia, where he owned fiefs, and scarcely had the papal authorities acceded to his request when he

Francesco Sforza enters the Marches.

[1] Letter from the camp before Tivoli, September 6, 1433, Mansi, *Concil.*, xxxi. 179. Infessura, p. 1877, in Eccard, ii. The defective text of Eccard is frequently more circumstantial than that of Muratori, which is, however, more correct.

[2] Bull of excommunication, October 9, 1433, *Romae apud S. Laur. in Damaso*, Theiner, iii. n. 269.—Letter of the Council of Basle to Virginius Orsini, January 16, 1434: Orsini Archives, T. 119. n. 1.

threw aside his mask. Several cities, Ancona itself, irritated by Vitelleschi's oppressive rule, acknowledged Sforza, and the condottiere of Milan extenuated his usurpation by explaining that he had received encouragement from the Council. The Duke of Milan called himself Vicar of this Council in Italy.[1] Sforza advanced to Umbria, then to Roman Tuscany, where the papal cities declared in his favour. Thus was Rome harassed from both sides the Tiber, from the Tuscan by Sforza, from the Latin by Fortebraccio.

In his necessity, Eugenius resolved to make submission to the Council, a step urgently advised by the envoys of Sigismund and France, since the entire State of the Church would otherwise have abjured him. On December 15, 1433, he revoked his three bulls, solemnly recognised the Council as the highest authority, and also reinstated the Cardinals Hugo of Cyprus, Casanova, and Capranica. This was the deepest humiliation, the very renunciation of the papal authority and the greatest triumph of the Council, which again stood on the same height as in the days of Constance. The number of

Eugenius IV. submits to the Council, Dec. 1433.

[1] Sforza in scorn wrote *ex Girifalco nostro Firmano, invito Petro et Paulo.* Machiavelli, *Ist. Flor.*, v. 2. Eugenius accused the Duke before the Emperor and the Italian powers as the author of these intrigues. *Ejus enim architecti haec fabrica est.* Thus to Florence, *Romae pridie non. Jan. a. III.* Epistolarium of Martin and Eugenius, *Cod. Chigi*, D. vii. 101. It was only at the price of great privileges that Eugenius retained Bologna (Privilegium of January 7, 1433, Theiner, iii. n. 266). He further bestowed ratifications of their constitutions on many other places, thus on Montefiessone, Vetralla, Bagnorea, Civita-vecchia, Nepi, Ancona.

prelates in Basle was now great. More than seven Cardinals sat in the assembly. Prominent men, such as Cardinal Aleman and Nicholas of Cusa, or men of conspicuous talents, such as Piccolomini, fought for the rights of the Council, over which Cesarini still presided. After Eugenius, who was utterly dejected, had surrendered to the Council, he hastened to extort the utmost advantage from it for himself, to clear the atmosphere in Rome, and to get rid of the condottieri. Fortebraccio declined his offers, but the astute Sforza accepted them. He made his winter quarters at Calcarella near the ancient Vulci, in order to advance to Rome at a more favourable time of year. The envoys of the Pope, the Bishop of Tropea and Flavio Biondo, the historian of this period, meeting him there, he concluded a treaty with them. Eugenius, forced by necessity, converted his enemy into a no less dangerous vassal, for on March 25, 1434, he appointed Sforza his Vicar in the March of Ancona and Standard-bearer of the Church.[1] This treaty gave the young condottiere his first secure position in Italy, and laid the foundation of his future.

He forms a treaty with Sforza, March 1434.

He forthwith sent his brother Leo to the aid of the Pope. The Sforzeschi, united to the papal troops under Micheletto and Attendolo, advanced from Rome to drive Fortebraccio from Monte

[1] *Dat. Romae ap. S. Grisogonum, A.*, 1434, viii. *Kal. April, A.*, iv. Raynald, n. 8. Of the same date is his brief to the March of Ancona, where he orders that henceforward the tribute be paid to his beloved son Francesco Sforza, Count of Cotignola and Ariano and Marquis of the March of Ancona. Theiner, iii. n. 270. Corio, v. 230. Simoneta, p. 227.

Rotondo, but were unsuccessful. They defeated him, however, near Mentana, and then laid siege to Tivoli.[1] But Fortebraccio found an entirely unhoped-for support in Niccolo Piccinino, a brave mercenary leader, whom Visconti had sent to bar the way of Sforza, whose treaty with the Pope—concluded on his own responsibility—annoyed him. Rome was now so harassed by Braccio's troops that the endless war drove the people to revolt.[2] The Romans conceived the plan of taking the Pope prisoner in the name of the Council, which they hoped would then make its seat in Rome. Agents of Milan, of Piccinino and the Colonna, perhaps those of the Council also, stirred up the city, where recollections of ancient freedom at length awoke.

Rome hard pressed by Fortebraccio.

Eugenius at first had betaken himself to the palace near S. Crisogono, the abode of his nephew Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, but he now dwelt beside S. Maria in Trastevere. He was here assailed by envoys of the citizens. They bemoaned the constant hardships of war; they required the Pope to renounce the temporal power, to surrender Ostia and S. Angelo to the people, and finally to give his nephew as hostage. Eugenius refused. His nephew treated the Roman deputies with the contempt of a Venetian noble. When they com-

[1] Simoneta, p. 227. Blondus, *Decad.*, iii. v. 479.

[2] *Romam ipsam diutino bello afflictam—a Pont. desciscere desperatio coegit:* Poggio, *De Var. Fort.*, p. 88. And Simoneta: *est enim natura mortalib. insitum, libertati studere et servitutem odisse* (p. 228).

plained of the devastation inflicted on their estates in the Campagna, he jeered at the peasant-like occupations of the Romans, and even to the refined Florentines the Romans of that period seemed a race of rude "cowherds."[1]

Revolution of the Romans, May 29, 1434.

On the evening of May 29, 1434, Rome resounded with the ancient cry, "The people, the people and liberty!" Poncelletto di Pietro Venerameri headed the conspirators in an attack on the Capitol; Biagio of Narni, the Senator, was wounded and surrendered. The republic was now proclaimed; the ancient rule of the Banderesi and of the seven governors was reinstated.[2] This new signory went to the Pope, arrested his insolent nephew, and forcibly carried him to the Capitol. Eugenius now admitted that the temporal government was only a burthen, which he would willingly renounce, and the Romans, intoxicated with ideas of liberty, listened to his sighs with incredulous smiles. They demanded that he should follow them to Rome, to dwell

[1] Platina, *Vita* of Eugenius, and Egidius, *Hist. XX. Saec.*, p. 282: *quid nos obtunditis cum gregib., armamentisque, cum multo urbanior sit venetor. civitas, quae hisce reb. caret.*—In 1433 Averardi wrote to Giovanni Medici: *gli uomini che al presente—Romani si chiamono—tutti pajono Vaccari:* the women beautiful, but dirty, because they attend to the cooking: Fabroni, *Vita Cosmi Annot.*, 86.—Poggio, *De Nobilitate* (Op., p. 68): *Romani nobiles mercaturam ut rem vilem contemnunt, cultui agror. et rei rusticae vacare—vero nobili dignum putant.*—Its most respected guild was always that of the Bovacterii.

[2] These last *Septem Gubernatores libertatis Romanorum Senatoris officium exercentes* were, Matteo de Matteis; Lello di Paolo Stati; Cecco di Strocco; Antonio di Rusticelli; Pietro Paolo di Cola Jacobelli; Tommaso di Cecco Jannetto; Giovanni di Muzio Velli.

secure in the palace of his predecessor, and this he naturally declined.[1]

Eugenius having lost the authority of the State by his own ineptitude, resolved, like so many of his predecessors, on flight. A corsair, Vitellius of Ischia, whom he had already taken into his service and who anchored at Ostia, awaiting his commands, aided his escape. June 4 was fixed as the date of flight, for on this evening the Romans intended to carry him by force to the city. It was midday. While some bishops in an anteroom pretended they were waiting for an audience of the Pope, Eugenius and his Soldan, John Miletus, disguised themselves in Benedictine cowls.[2] They mounted mules and rode from S. Crisogono to Ripa Grande, where a boat lay ready. The steersman Valentino, a servant of the corsair, took the Pope on his broad shoulders and carried him to the boat, which was rowed hastily down the stream. But the suspicion expressed by the bystanders on the shore, that the monk who was hurrying away in so curious a manner was the Pope, sufficed to set Trastevere and even Rome in commotion.[3] The Romans hurried to the shore to

Flight from Rome of Eugenius IV., June 4, 1434.

[1] Blondus, *Decad.*, iii. vi. 481. Petroni (Murat., xxiv. 1107): *perdè lo stato di Roma a dì XXIV. di Maggio: per lo suo poco, ovvero di altri sapere reggire e governare.* And Cardinal Egidius speaks of the *temeritas*, *insolentia*, *cupiditas* of the Pope.

[2] *Soldanus Urbis* or *Marescalcus Curie*, prefect of the papal prison. He dwelt in the Torre di Nona. Leo X. conferred this office on the Capo di Ferro. Georgi, *Vita Nicolai*, v. 104. Janissaries and Stradioti (Turkish or Greek terms) appeared in Rome.

[3] The Trasteverines were led by a *regionis transtyberinae princeps Romanus civis*, that is to say, by a member of the ancient house of Romani of which the Piazza Romana still bears the name—Blondus.

give chase to the fugitive. Some followed him in a skiff, which, however, ran aground on the bank. The wind was adverse, the fugitive boat was wrecked, the Romans came close upon it at S. Paul's. Stones, spears, anything that came to hand was thrown with indescribable fury, and arrows were shot against it. The panting rowers toiled on, while the Pope, hunted like a wild animal by his Romans, lay back in the boat covered under a spacious shield. The pursuers with shouts offered the steersman large sums of money if he would surrender the Pope; many ran forward searching for boats to lie in ambush. The fugitives had left S. Paul's behind: the river now became wider; they hoped to gain Ostia. But the greatest danger was still to come. A fishing boat, filled with armed men, pushed out from the shore and tried to place itself across the river. The brave Valentino perceiving the intention, resolutely turned his boat to run down the enemy, or himself to perish with the Holy Father, while the Soldan and four other companions savagely turned their crossbows against the pursuers. The enemy's boat was fortunately old and rotten. It evaded the shock, and the bark of Peter glided unhindered down the stream. The trembling Pope came from behind the shield and, soothed by his rejoicing companions, sat down to recover breath. The Tower of Ostia was in sight: Eugenius, at last safe, stepped on the trireme of Vitellius, where he spent the night on account of contrary winds.[1] The

[1] The last papal flight from Rome, before that of Pius IX.; vividly described by Blondus.

members of the Curia, who had escaped from the city, joined him. The flight was continued past Civita Vecchia. On June 12, Eugenius landed at Pisa[1]; on the 23rd he arrived in Florence, where he was accorded an honourable reception and an asylum in S. Maria Novella. The dispersed Curia rejoined him by slow degrees. How often must he have recalled the troubled times of his uncle Gregory XII., with whom he himself had shared the perils of flight by sea.[2]

He makes his abode in Florence.

The Florentine republic was at this time in violent commotion; its great citizen Cosimo Medici had been obliged to submit to the faction of Rinaldo degli Albizzi and to go to Venice in October 1433. The result of his exile was that the entire fabric of the State was thrown into disorder, until the Medicean party recovered the authority, recalled Cosimo, and banished Rinaldo. In the midst of these disturbances Eugenius arrived in Florence. He strove to tranquillise the parties, but could not prevent the expulsion of Rinaldo, who had trusted to his intercession. On October 1, 1434, Cosimo returned in triumph, henceforward by his influence to govern the State.

Cosimo de Medici.

[1] From Pisa he wrote to the Auditor Nardi and to other clergy that they were to recover the property which had been stolen by the people from the palaces of S. Crisogono and S. Maria after his flight. *Dat. Pisis a.* 1434 *XV. Kal. Junii Pont. V. a. IV. Mscr. Vat.*, 8051, p. 104.

[2] He announced his flight to the Council: *Flor. IX. Kal. Julii A. IV.* Among the members of the Curia who followed him was Poggio, who was obliged to purchase his release from robbers near Narni. *De Variet.*, p. 92.

Rome meanwhile found herself in possession of her recovered freedom, but also in utter confusion. The popular government had seized the city; but the papal provost Baldassare of Offida held S. Angelo. It was besieged in vain. The city was bombarded, while, from the camp at Tivoli, Sforza's troops advanced under Micheletto, and took the Porta Appia. Baldassare one day by artifice enticed eight citizens, some of them leaders of the republic, into S. Angelo, where he detained them as hostages for the surrender of Cardinal Condulmer. The event excited great dismay. Eugenius's party on the contrary received encouragement, since the Pope had renewed the league with Florence and Venice, and the allies successfully waged war on the Duke of Milan in the Romagna, while the troops of Braccio and Sforza, avoiding one another in Roman territory, came to no decisive encounter. Francesco Sforza with Micheletto stood opposed to Fortebraccio and Piccinino at Rispampano and Vetralla; but envoys of the Duke of Milan acted as intermediaries, and a truce having been arranged both condottieri soon left Tuscany. Sforza remained inactive; Piccinino summoned Visconti to the Flaminia. This illustrious general so successfully routed the united Florentines and Venetians under their leaders Niccolo of Tolentino and Gattamelata at Imola on August 28, 1434, that the victory made the Duke of Milan lord of the Bolognese territory. The Florentines however now appointed Francesco Sforza as their general. Thus of the condottieri Fortebraccio alone remained in the neighbourhood

The condottieri before Rome, and anarchy in the city.

of Rome. The Romans, who had despaired of the conquest of S. Angelo, had urgently called him to the city, and contrary to the terms of the truce he had actually come to Trastevere on August 18. But as early as the beginning of September he went to the Sabina. The popular party now remained without support; the government on the Capitol was bad and powerless; the governors only pillaged the city.[1] All moderate-minded men longed for a restoration of the papal government. Negotiations were carried on with the Pope; envoys bringing offers of peace even came from the Council. The Capitoline signory, which saw its end approach, in vain summoned the young Lorenzo Colonna to its support; he appeared with a few troops on October 19, but was unable to acquire any influence.

On the contrary the Commissaries of the Pope, Vitelleschi and the Bishop of Tropea, came with Sforza's troops and the Orsini to the Borgo of S. Peter's on October 25, 1434. They were admitted to Trastevere the following day, and the cry "the Church! the Church!" soon again re-echoed through the city. The castellan of S. Angelo ventured on a sortie. Vitelleschi hastened to an attack on the Capitol. The governors of liberty forthwith vanished. Eugenius's nephew was released; the papal goverment was reinstated, and the republican revolution expired after a tumultuous reign of scarcely five months.

Vitelleschi enters Rome, and restores the dominion of the Pope, Oct. 1434.

The subjugation of the city was an event of the highest importance for Eugenius IV. It restored

[1] Mesticanza of Paul Petroni, p. 1107.

his prestige and again made him independent of the Council. He might now have returned unhindered to Rome. It was however more expedient that he should remain in Florence, while his legate undertook to extirpate the last traces of the revolt in Rome, and never was there a man better qualified for such a task.

John Vitelleschi.

John Vitelleschi was by birth a native of Corneto. In his youth he had served as secretary to the condottiere Tartaglia, the tyrant of Toscanello, had made himself head of a faction in Corneto, and then embraced a spiritual career.[1] Martin V. had made him proto-notary; but Vitelleschi was born for the camp, not for the altar, and even in the vestments of a bishop was nothing but a general. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Eugenius IV. had made him Bishop of Recanati and sent him as his legate to the Marches. His military talent had been already displayed in a campaign against Jacopo of Vico and the Colonna, but his harshness so roused the Marches against him, that they voluntarily surrendered to Francesco Sforza. For every one trembled before the bloodthirsty priest, who had played a part in the hideous fratricide of the Varani at Camerino, and enticed Pietro Gentile to Recanati and there strangled him.[2] Driven by Sforza from

[1] Concerning the early life of Vitelleschi, see Ciacconius, iii. 896. Poggio, *De Variet.*, p. 110; Garimberto, *Fatti memorabili di alcune Papi e Cardinali*, p. 457.

[2] The sons of Gentile III. perished either by fratricide or as victims to the popular fury. Six of Berardo's sons were strangled by the populace in a church of Camerino. *Chron. Eugubin.*, Murat., xxi. 972. Camerino surrendered to Sforza.

the Marches, Vitelleschi fled to Venice, whence he proceeded to Florence to join Eugenius IV., who had been expelled in like manner. The Pope forbore to reproach his favourite with the loss of the Marches: he placed the blindest confidence in Vitelleschi and loaded him with honours. He entrusted him with the task of subjugating Rome and, when this was accomplished, with the government of the city, where Baldassare of Offida received the senatorial dignity.[1]

Vitelleschi, cruel and pitiless, shrinking from no crime, was thoroughly qualified to extirpate the innumerable tyrants who pursued their ways in the Romagna. The Colonna and Orsini made all ordered government here impossible; barons, with mercenaries in their pay, dwelt in their rock-fortresses, defying every law, constantly ready to incite Rome to revolt, or make common cause with the enemies of the Pope. Hungry mercenaries, moreover, carrying the flag of Sforza, Fortebraccio, Piccinino, Antonio of Pontadera scoured the Sabina, Latium and Tuscany. To such terrible conditions had Eugenius IV. reduced the State of the Church.[2] Vitelleschi resolved to destroy by fire and sword whatever was within his reach. But since he could not everywhere employ these means, he gained over some barons by treaty. On March 22, 1435, he

[1] His name is Baldassare de' Baroncelli di Offida. He still remained senator in 1435. He then became Podestà of Bologna. Sforza caused him to be executed at Fermo in 1436.

[2] While writing these pages in November 1867, I beheld with my own eyes the invasion of the Campagna by Garibaldi's volunteers, who reminded me of the times of the condottieri.

made peace with Jacopo Orsini of Monterotondo; on May 16, he concluded a truce with Count Antonio and his allies Odoardo Colonna, Conradin of Antiochia, Cola Savelli, Ruggieri Gaetano and Grado of the house of Conti of Valmontone. On August 24, he made a treaty with Lorenzo Colonna, and at the same time, Tivoli, a crown-land of the senate, returned to the obedience of Rome.

These treaties permitted Vitelleschi to turn with all his strength against the most dangerous of tyrants—the Prefect Jacopo of Vico, son of the formerly powerful Francesco.[1] He besieged him in Vetralla, and this strong fortress surrendered on August 31. On September 28, Vitelleschi caused the City Prefect to be executed head downwards in the castle of Soriano. Thus ended the ancient German house of the lords of Vico, in which the prefecture of the city had been hereditary since the twelfth century. This Ghibelline family, a wild, defiant race of tyrants, invariably at deadly hostility to the popes, prominent in every revolution in Rome, had ruled the territory of the Tuscan prefects for almost three hundred years, had frequently annexed Corneto and Viterbo, and under Jacopo's father had even extended its sway to Orvieto. On its extinction peace and safety returned to the Patrimony.[2] The family of the lords of Vico, it is true, survived in some illegitimate sons of Jacopo, but

Fall of the last Prefect of the house of Vico, Sept. 28, 1435.

[1] C. Calissa, *I Prefetti di Vico*, p. 410, holds Jacopo to be the son of Giovanni di Sciarra, an opinion of which I doubt the truth.

[2] Jacopo of Vico is buried in Viterbo in the Church of S. Maria in Grado.

never acquired any further importance.[1] Their estates reverted to the Church. Vico itself and other places were sold by Eugenius IV. to Count Eversus of Anguillara, in order to secure his adherence, and this baron of the house of the Orsini family, who soon succeeded in annexing almost all the remaining property of the Prefects, became in the course of time a powerful tyrant, such as the lords of Vico had formerly been.[2]

Henceforward the popes bestowed the prefecture of the city on whom they pleased. On October 19, 1435, Eugenius gave it to Francesco Orsini, Count of Trani and Conversano, a distinguished man, who became the first Duke of Gravina and founder of the branch of the Orsini, which took its name from the place.[3] Henceforward the Pope restricted the jurisdiction of the Prefect of the city as well as of

Francesco Orsini, Prefect of the city, Oct. 1435.

[1] Two bastards were Securanza and Menelaus. A genealogical tree of the family of Vico adds Angheramo and Francesco. Mscr. Barberini, n. 1074. Collection of notices and documents concerning the prefecture of the city, written about 1631, when Taddeo Barberini, the last of all the city prefects, received the dignity. C. Calissa wrote a monograph with documentary materials entitled, *I Prefetti di Vico, Arch. de R. Società Romana di S. P.*, vol. x. 1887.

[2] Eugenius ratified the sale of Vico and Caprarola, which Vitelleschi had made over to Eversus for 7375 florins. Brief, *dat. Flor.* 1440. *XII. Kal. Aug. A. X.* Eversus is therein called *heres et successor quond. nob. mulieris Marie nate quond. Ursi Comitis Anguillarie ac relicte quond. nob. viri Petri de Vico militis.* Colonna Archives, T. 65.

[3] Decree addressed to Franc. de Ursinus, *Flor. A.* 1435, *XIV. Kal. Nov. A. V.*, in Contelori *de Praef. Urbis.* Concerning Francesco Orsini and his descendants by the courtesan Passarella, see Litta, *Orsini*, Tav. xxii.

the Senator, in that he bestowed the government of Rome and its territory with criminal authority and power over the police on the Vice-Camerlengo of the Church.[1]

Eugenius looked with great satisfaction on the success that had resulted from his flight; for, as in the case of so many of his predecessors, exile first made him master of Rome. Slight as was the prestige that he had enjoyed there, proportionately great was the reverence that he encountered among the Florentines, on whom the unusual spectacle of a pope made a deep impression. We must read the accounts of an eye-witness to see how high the cult of the Papacy had risen again in the Italian nation.[2] In January 1436 the Romans in despair invited Eugenius to return to the obedient city, for, instructed by the past, they recognised that, apart from the Pope, Rome must soon again become a desolate waste.[3] He allowed his envoys to turn dissatisfied away; on April 18 he betook himself to Bologna, which after a violent revolt on September 27 of the previous year had again made submission to the Church.

Vitelleschi had gone to the Pope in Florence, and Eugenius had bestowed the Archbishopric of the

[1] The first *Gubernator urbis Romae ejusque districtus* was Julianus Ricci, Archbishop of Pisa, appointed on January 17, 1435. Theiner, iii. n. 279. The prefect now became nothing more than a puppet.

[2] Vespasiano, *Vita di Eugenio IV.*

[3] Petroni, p. 1112.—*Romam sine pontificis cura non tam urbem quam vastam ac desertam speluncam videri*, Eneas Sylvius, *Europa*, c. 58.

city and the dignity of Patriarch of Alexandria upon him, and had then dismissed him to Rome, to continue the work that he had begun. During his absence malcontents had arrived to draw up fresh plans for freedom. They were headed by Poncelletto Venerameri, the leader of the first revolt, who had then betrayed them for money, and who was now angry with the legate, because he had not received the 100,000 ducats promised him.[1] The Conti, Savelli, Colonna and Gaetani had entered into alliance with him and Count Antonio. Antonio more especially with his mercenaries still scoured Latium, where he had already held the Lucanian bridge of the Anio for two years. He had been in the service of the Church; Eugenius had made him general over the Campagna, and instead of his arrears of pay he had taken several places as mortgages. This afforded grounds for a quarrel. On March 19 (1436) the barons seized the Porta Maggiore and gave it into the keeping of Antonio. But the faction of the enemy, which was that of the Orsini, under Eversus of Anguillara, conquered the gate, and in the same month Vitelleschi appeared with troops from Tuscany. The Patriarch—for so he was now called—immediately proceeded to the Alban mountains to overthrow the Savelli. He took, and partly destroyed, Borghetto near Marino, Castel Gandolfo, Albano, Rocca Priora. He caused Castel Savello to be pulled down. The ancient ancestral home of the Savelli near Albano, known

Poncelletto Venerameri, leader of a revolt in Rome.

Vitelleschi destroys the fortresses of the Savelli.

[1] The name is also called Venderanerii; I find it thus in a document of the year 1340, preserved in the Archives of S. Spirito.

as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, had been entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth by the nephews of the two popes called Honorius. They here erected a fortress with palaces and a church, with dwellings for the vassals and strong towers on the hill, surrounded with solid walls. The Patriarch threw everything to the ground. Seven and twenty years later Pius II. visited the ruins of the fortress, in which antiquaries believed they discovered the palace of Ascanius; he caused the fortress to be restored; it was again inhabited, and not until 1640 was it abandoned on account of dearth of water. Its ruins now lie buried in ivy.[1]

Vitelleschi now marched against Count Antonio, in whose camp were many Roman exiles. He stormed the Lucanian bridge, conquered Sessa in the Volscian territory, and laid siege to Piperno. Antonio, who now advanced to his relief, was defeated on May 15, and taken prisoner with several Roman barons. The Patriarch without more ado ordered the dreaded captain to be hanged on an olive tree near Scantino. The whole Campagna forthwith surrendered to the terrible priest. The Colonna alone remained defiant, and Vitelleschi now resolved once for all to make an end of these nobles. He raised a recruit from every house in Rome, led his troops—strengthened by these re-

Fall of Count Antonio.

[1] *In eo palatium Ascanii adhuc manere dicunt: falsa res est: thermae fuerunt Imperatorum, opus magnum et sublime: altissimi fornices exstant. Pii II. Comment.*, p. 306. According to Blondus, *Italia illustr.*, p. 101, the fortress had already been restored by Cardinal Scarampo.

inforcements—to Palestrina, and on June 2 laid siege to the headquarters of the Colonna. The young Lorenzo, grandson of Niccolo, defended himself with courage. Other fortresses belonging to the family, however, fell, and on August 18 Palestrina surrendered from famine.[1] Lorenzo received free passage to Terracina. Poncelletto Venerameri, who was with him, escaped, but was captured in Cave. The Patriarch seized the Latin cities belonging to the Colonna for the Camera, and the power of the noble family, which under Martin V. had attained such greatness, was thus suddenly ruined. Since the days of Cola di Rienzo the house had been struck by no such heavy blow. Scarcely was Lorenzo banished when a more celebrated Colonna fell by the hand of an assassin; Ludovico, who in 1415 had slain the great condottiere Paul Orsini in battle, was now murdered at Ardea, on October 12, 1436, by his own brother-in-law, Gianandrea of Riofreddo.[2]

Palestrina surrenders, Aug. 18, 1436.

After these victories Vitelleschi advanced like a triumphator through the quaking city, where his will was now law. He was received with honours such as are only awarded to a pope or king. On the way which then led from the Lateran to

[1] On August 19, the Patriarch informed all the places in the State of the Church of his victory and demanded troops. *Dat. ex castris S. D. N. Pape die* 19. *Aug.* 1436 *prope Penestre.* Petrini, *Mon.*, 49.

[2] Petroni, p. 1117. A murder caused by a quarrel about property, and perhaps also committed to avenge the Orsini of Tagliacozzo. In 1433, Stephen Colonna was murdered at Genazzano by his nephew Salvatore, whereupon the citizens of Palestrina slew the murderer. Infessura, p. 1124.

Vitelleschi enters Rome in triumph.

S. Maria Maggiore, he was awaited by the captains of the regions and magistrates bearing torches. The people carrying olive branches and processions of the clergy escorted him with bands of music through the decorated streets to S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Shouts of "Long live the Patriarch, the Father of the city!" greeted his ears. Clad in armour, he rode his charger, which respected citizens led by the bridle, while twelve youths taken from every region in turn carried a gold baldacchino over his head. Having prayed in S. Lorenzo, he took up his abode in the adjoining palace. Here an embassy of the citizens appeared to present him with a goblet filled with gold.

The dreaded queller of tyrants, now himself the tyrant of Rome, before whose savage cruelty everyone trembled, ordered the execution of the imprisoned rebels. On September 11 the unfortunate Poncelletto was dragged through the city from the Capitol, torn with red-hot pincers, and then quartered in the Campo di Fiore.[1] The following day the cringing senate met in a parliament of the citizens on the Capitol, and resolved to reward the despot's services to the welfare of the people by a public monument. It decreed him an equestrian statue in marble on the Capitol with the inscription: "John Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, third father after Romulus of the city of Romulus."[2] All in-

The Roman people decrees Vitelleschi an equestrian statue on the Capitol.

[1] Paolo di Ponte, *Mscr.*

[2] Decree from the Capitol of September 12, 1436, the 3 conservators, 13 caporioni, 26 deputies of the regions, and 30 other citizens, who together formed the *Consil. Urbis.* Among families of

habitants of Corneto were furthermore declared Roman citizens, and it was ordained that, on every anniversary of the conquest of Palestrina, a silver chalice was to be presented to S. Lewis, as on May 8 a chalice was presented to S. Angelo in memory of the fall of Francesco of Vico. A statue on the Capitol was a distinction which no one had received since Charles of Anjou. Had not the change of fortune prevented it, instead of the equestrian figure of an illustrious Roman emperor we should now see the mail-clad form of a warrior priest on the Capitoline piazza.

Vitelleschi had rendered undoubted services to Rome; he had extirpated the condottieri and the tyrants of the Campagna, restored quiet to the city and reanimated her markets. Had he united statesmanlike wisdom to his iron energy, he would have acquired the fame of a second Albornoz. In his age he could not perhaps be otherwise than a terrible destroying angel. With the tyrants he also annihilated their cities; he laid waste the entire districts and ruined their already scanty cultivation.

note were: Nardi (Reg. Ponte), Stefani (Monti), Butii (Colonna), Rubei (Arenula), Macharani (Trastevere), Leni (Pinea), Pierleoni (Ripa), Nari (Campomarzo), Caputzunchi (Campitelli), Papazurri (Trevi), Buccamazi (Trevi), Frajapani (Trastevere), Buccabelli (Campitelli), Petroni (Ponte), Boccapaduli (S. Angelo), Toderini (Campitelli), Capo di Ferro (Pinea), Signoretti and Fabi (Parione), S. Croce and Laurentii (Arenula), de Advocatis (Campomarzo), Astalli (S. Eustachio), Andreotti (Arenula), Scotti (Arenula), Parentii (Ripa), Bonelli (S. Eustachio). Trastevere sent 8 deputies; Campomarzo, Pinea, Campitelli, Arenula 5 each; S. Angelo, Ripa, Trevi, Ponte, Colonna, S. Eustachio 4 each; Parione 3; Monti 1. See the document in Petrini, *Mon.*, 50.

Emulating the frenzy of a pope, he commanded Palestrina to be levelled with the ground. For this purpose, in March 1437 he returned to Rome from Corneto, where he had spent the winter. He sent twelve workmen from every quarter of the city to Palestrina, commanding them to destroy the place. To such cruelty was he driven by the devotion of the people of Praeneste to their lords, and by the fear that Lorenzo Colonna might some day return.

Vitelleschi orders the destruction of Palestrina, April 1437.

For the third time the curse of destruction fell on the place. It was now more utterly demolished than under Boniface VIII.[1] Throughout the whole of April the work of annihilation was carried on; even the cathedral was pulled down. Vitelleschi ordered the bells to be removed to Corneto, and converted the marble jambs of the cathedral into door-posts for the palace which he built in his ancestral city.[2] The Cyclopean fortress of S. Pietro was however spared at this time, but when Lorenzo Colonna tried to return from his exile in 1438, the Patriarch ordered this to be demolished also.[3] The inhabitants of Palestrina dispersed or came to Rome. Under Nicholas V. Stefano Colonna rebuilt both city and fortress; nevertheless Pius II. found Palestrina once more a heap of ruins, populated only by a few contadini.[4]

[1] Petroni, p. 1118. Blondus, *Decad.*, iii. vii. 509.

[2] Petrini, *Mon.*, 51. It afterwards came into possession of the Soderini, and, although altered, still remains.

[3] The author of the Mesticanza was employed in the work: *e facemola scaricare con tutte le mura, sicche fu eguale alla piazza di essa Rocca*, p. 1121.

[4] *Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 369.

In 1439 Zagarolo suffered a like fate. Lorenzo, thirsting for revenge, returned with troops and there entrenched himself. Vitelleschi stormed the place on April 2, took the Colonna prisoner and sent him to Eugenius IV. at Bologna, where, contrary to expectation, he was kindly treated. But Zagarolo too was levelled with the ground.[1] In such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that, of all the provinces of Italy Latium was the least cultivated. It would appear that Vitelleschi carried on these barbarous proceedings without the knowledge of the Pope; but we do not hear that Eugenius ever made any remonstrance against the despotic conduct of his favourite. The knowledge of the destruction of Palestrina, however, spread abroad, and the Council of Basle made it a subject of reproach against Eugenius.[2] The wars in the State of the Church under this pope were moreover more destructive than almost any that had preceded them. Many towers in the Campagna, Tuscany and the Sabina were reduced to ashes. Poggio, the friend of Martin V., whose reign he extolled as a golden age, said concerning Eugenius on this point: "Seldom has the rule of any other pope produced equal devastation in the provinces of the Roman Church. The

Zagarolo destroyed, 1439.

Depopulation of the Roman Campagna

[1] The Colonna fortress Lariano was also destroyed at this time, the Commune of Velletri ordering it to be razed in 1434. Coppi, *Mem. Col.*, p. 198.

[2] A brief of May 3, 1437 (Petrini, *Mon.*, 54) shows that Eugenius knew nothing of the destruction of Palestrina at this time. See the accusations of the Council of Basle in the Monitorium of July 31, 1437, Harduin *Concil.*, viii. 1127. And even earlier their complaints of this second Nero: Ambros Camald., *Ep.* 47, lib. iii.

country scourged by war, the depopulated and ruined towns, the devastated fields, the roads infested by robbers, more than fifty places partly destroyed, partly sacked by soldiery, have suffered from every species of revenge. After the destruction of their cities, many citizens have been sold as slaves; many have died of hunger in prison." And Blondus, who was also friendly to Eugenius IV., raised a like lament; in his time he counted more than thirty towers destroyed, on whose ruins scarcely a single poor peasant remained.[1]

4. War of Alfonso Concerning Naples — Naval Battle at Ponza; Alfonso's Imprisonment and Release, August 1435—Eugenius IV. Recognises King Rene in Naples—Fresh Quarrel with the Council — Council in Ferrara, January 1438—Union with the Greeks—The Pragmatic Sanction of France — Death of Sigismund, December 9, 1437—Albert, King of the Romans —Council in Florence—The Greeks Accept the Union, June 1438—The Anti-Pope Felix V. —Principle of Neutrality in Germany—Death of Albert, November 1439—Frederick III. King of the Romans, February 1440.

While Vitelleschi was restoring the dominion of the Church in Roman territory, Alfonso of Aragon and the Council waged war against the Pope. King Lewis, whom he had recognised, died without heirs at Cosenza in November 1434, and on February

[1] Poggio, *De Variet.*, p. 88. Blondus, *Italia illustrata*, p. 67.

2, 1435, the house of Anjou-Durazzo became extinct through the death of Joanna II. The queen had nominated as her heir Lewis's absent brother René, Count of Provence and Duke of Anjou. But Alfonso, who hurried from Sicily, and Eugenius, who laid claim to Naples as a fief which had reverted to the Church, contested the validity of the will. The Pope forbade the Neapolitans to recognise either of the royal claimants.[1] In the war of conquest, which Alfonso now began, the Duke of Milan also appeared as his opponent. Visconti, lord of Genoa, hostile to the Spaniards, favourably inclined towards the French, had sent a Genoese fleet to the aid of Gaeta, which was besieged, and this fleet was defeated by Aragonese vessels at Ponza on August 5, 1435. Alfonso himself, his brother John, King of Navarre, Don Enrico, Grandmaster of S. James, and his foremost barons were made prisoners. Seldom has a more brilliant victory been achieved. The war, it was said, was ended at a stroke. The Venetians were terrified, believing that, did Visconti understand how to follow up his victory, he could make himself master of Italy. The Genoese carried their valuable spoils to their port and then to Milan. The Duke, a man of unaccountable character, received the King as an enemy and a prisoner, but himself soon fell captive to Alfonso's charm and chivalry. He recognised the justice of the latter's representations, that, seated on the throne of Naples,

Death of Joanna II., Feb. 2, 1438.

Naval Battle at Ponza, Aug. 5, 1335.

[1] On February 21, 1435, Vitelleschi was appointed legate for Naples (Rayn., n. xi.). On June 9, 1435, Eugenius addressed the bull *Inter ceteras curas* to the Neapolitans; Lünig, ii. 1235.

Aragon would prove a sure support for Milan; Anjou a threatening danger. He dismissed Alfonso with princely gifts and without exacting a ransom, as a friend to whom he was bound by the closest ties.[1] This magnanimity, unexampled save in the romances of chivalry, produced an indescribable sensation throughout the world. The Pope was deeply incensed. The Genoese people, at deadly enmity to the Catalans, finding themselves betrayed of the profits of their glorious victory, rose in anger on December 12, killed the Milanese commandant, and, under Francesco Spinola, once more restored their independence.

War between Alfonso and René.

Alfonso had meanwhile hurried to Gaeta, which had surrendered to his brother Pedro. He equipped vessels for the conquest of Naples, where Isabella, the astute wife of René, had conducted the government since October, while her husband was a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. Eugenius IV. was now obliged to recognise, or at least uphold, this René as a claimant; for Alfonso, in agreement with the Colonna and the condottieri, harassed the State of the Church from Terracina. We have already seen how this danger was averted by the energy of Vitelleschi. In April 1437, as papal legate, Vitelleschi marched into Neapolitan territory to the aid of the regent Isabella. But he met with no success, beyond taking Antonio Orsini, Prince of Taranto, Alfonso's most powerful adherent, prisoner in a sortie. Eugenius in reward raised him to the purple, as Cardinal of S. Lorenzo in Damaso

[1] Barthol. Facius, *De reb. gestis Alphonsi*, Mant., 1563, p. 49.

on August 9, 1437.[1] In December Vitelleschi concluded an armistice with Alfonso at Salerno, but immediately broke it, making an underhand attempt on the person of the King. At enmity with all parties, he finally left the kingdom, took ship on the Adriatic coast, and went by way of Venice and Ferrara to the Pope.[2]

Eugenius was again at war with the Council and already about to issue forth victorious. The ecclesiastical assembly had followed up its first triumph over the papal power with but little tact and perhaps with too great violence. Its decrees for reform concerning the abolition of perquisites, fees for the pallium, annates and other extortionate revenues hit the Curia in its most sensitive quarter. The Papacy found itself in danger of forfeiting the sources of its wealth, which accrued from forced tributes levied on Christendom and from innumerable taxes, and of abdicating its authority at the command of a parliamentary majority. It consequently prepared to resist to the death; and it did not lack partisans. Its adherents on the benches at Basle grew in number; its rights were defended by learned theologians, such as Juan Torquemada, the most zealous defender since Thomas Aquinas of papal infallibility, and Traversari, the Camaldolese, while the sympathy of princes and peoples for the

Decrees of Reform promulgated by the Council of Basle.

[1] Poggio, *De Variet.*, p. 112. *Annales Bonincontrii*, p. 140. Festivals were celebrated in consequence in Rome. Petroni, p. 1119.

[2] To show the blasphemous iniquities of which the Cardinal was capable, we cite the fact, that when he caused Giovenazzo to be laid waste, he promised his mercenaries a hundred days' indulgence for every olive-tree that they cut down. *Giornali Nap.*, p. 1107.

Council waned under the chilling influence of time and the trumpery results of reform.[1] An object of strife was also union with the Greek Church, concerning which negotiations had long been carried on. Each party coveted this glory for itself, and both were agreed that in order to effect the union the Council must be removed to some place more convenient for the Greeks. The Fathers at Basle were in favour of Avignon, the Pope in favour of Venice or Florence. The Roman party at length foisted a decree upon the Council, which in its own name transferred the assembly to an Italian city, and by a bull issued on September 18, 1437, Eugenius pronounced Ferrara as the city chosen. The Greeks turned from the assembly at Basle, ready to follow the Pope, who consequently held the work of union in his hands. His fortune was in the ascendant, the prestige of the Fathers on the wane.

Eugenius IV. removes the Council to Ferrara.

On January 8, 1438, Cardinal Albergati opened the Council in Ferrara. It was very thinly attended, and attended only by Italians. Eugenius himself entered the city with great splendour on the 27th, and on March 4 John VI. Palaeologus appeared there also. The successor of Constantine came as an exiled monarch, whose vessels and travelling expenses were provided by the Pope. He arrived in the company of his brother Demetrius, the aged Patriarch Joseph and of several dignitaries of the Eastern Church, who with feelings of shame had

Opening of the Council of Ferrara, Jan. 8, 1438.

[1] Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i. 96. Pichler, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident*, i. 253.

consented to the journey. Among them were the learned Bishops Marcus Eugenikos of Ephesus, Isidore of Russia, Bessarion of Nicea and his teacher, the Platonist Gemistos Plethon. After his pompous entry into Venice on the Bucentaur, and after the festivals in the city of the lagoons, whose cathedral the spoils of Byzantium had adorned for more than two hundred years, the suppliant proceeded to Ferrara, riding a horse covered with purple, while the Margraves of Este carried a sky-blue baldacchino over the head of their guest.[1] Had this sad imperial figure from the East but met the Emperor of the West at Ferrara, each would have smiled at the empty majesty of the other, and would have observed with surprise that while the legitimate imperial authority, which they both represented, was reduced to a vain title, the Bishop of Rome alone possessed a tangible authority in the world. Meanwhile the appearance of the Palaeologus at the Council was merely a theatrical victory for the Latin Church, since the hand which the Byzantine emperor extended in reconciliation to the Pope was the hand of the dead.

The Greek Emperor in Ferrara.

The theologians of the East and West, the belated successors of Origen and Augustine, contemplated each other with jealousy and distrust, and passionately rushed into disputations concerning the dogmas which separated the two churches, in order to find a basis for union. The Byzantines, indeed, might note with irony that the Latin Church was at violent discord with itself on the question of the limits of

[1] George Phranzes, lib. ii. c. 15.

the authority of the Western patriarch. They would gladly have put to sea again, had not the entreaties of the perplexed emperor compelled them to patient submission.

Continuance and Acts of the Council in Basle.

Meanwhile Cesarini had vainly striven to prevent a schism in Basle. Even he at length left the assembled fathers to repair to Ferrara. The assembly now elected as president Lewis d'Aleman, the most strenuous champion and the most brilliant intellect among the party of reform. There were consequently two Councils, each of which repudiated the other. The Council at Basle on January 24, 1438, declared the Pope suspended; that at Ferrara pronounced itself an Œcumenical Council under the presidency of the Pope and commanded the fathers at Basle to appear at Ferrara within a month.[1]

D'Aleman, John of Segovia, the great jurist Ludovico de Ponte, and Nicola de' Tudeschi, Archbishop of Palermo, the friends and envoys of Alfonso of Aragon, encouraged the assembly in Basle to resistance. Charles of France also repudiated the Council at Ferrara. At the synod of Bourges he caused the greater number of the decrees of Basle to be made laws, under the form of a Pragmatic Sanction for France. This country alone now rose to the courageous act of securing the independence of her national Church. In regard to the German Empire, Sigismund had striven in vain to reconcile the Pope to the Council. This last ruler of the house of Luxemburg died on December 9, 1437, while seated in his imperial robes upon the throne,

[1] Bull *Cum in Sacro*, Ferrara, February 15, 1438. Rayn., n. 5.

filled with earthly vanity even in the hour of death.[1] He had been an active and amiable man, but had never been favoured by fortune. Great at Constance, petty at Basle, he had proved incapable of conducting the German Reformation, the most important task of his imperial authority. His heir was his son-in-law Albert of Austria, who, as the husband of Elizabeth, was King of Hungary and Bohemia, and by election at Frankfort on March 18, 1434, was King of the Romans. Eugenius recognised him at once, hoping he might prove an advocate of the Church against the Council of Basle. But the Pope was disappointed; the principle of neutrality had firmly established itself in the German Empire.

Albert, King of the Romans, March 18, 1438.

Ferrara soon became unsafe for the Curia. In the spring of 1438 Visconti sent Piccinino to the Romagna, where he seized Bologna, on which Imola, Forli and other cities rose in revolt. Even Ravenna declared in favour of the Duke of Milan, whose supremacy Ostasio V., the last of the Polentani, was forced to recognise. Thus were the Venetians ousted from Ravenna, where, as early as 1404, they had striven to establish themselves by treaty with its lords. Henceforward they utilised every opportunity to get possession of the city, and were thus involved in permanent quarrels with the popes.

Pestilence having broken out in Ferrara and in the neighbourhood of Piccinino, Eugenius IV. transferred the Council to Florence on January 10, 1439. He appeared there like a fugitive on January 24.

Eugenius IV. removes the Council to Florence, Jan. 1439.

[1] True, the excellent Windek found that "the emperor died quite reasonably," c. 219.

He was reluctantly followed by the Emperor and his Greeks, the poor pensioners of the Pope and the members of the Council. After tedious disputes the Byzantine theologians, in fear not of S. Peter but of Mohammed, laid down those arms which Photius and his successors had borne for more than five hundred years. On June 3 they acknowledged that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, that the body of Christ was transmuted into leavened as well as unleavened bread, that the souls of believers were cleansed in purgatory, while those of impenitent sinners went straight to hell. If a liberal-minded philosopher is inclined to deplore the sophistry or weakness of the human intellect, because these articles sufficed to divide the consciences of entire races for whole centuries and to keep them at deadly hostility, the theologian might reply that these childish dogmas only veiled the real basis of the great schism. This was the absolute supremacy of the Pope, a principle which, as well as the entire Gregorian-Thomistic system of western papal authority, the Greeks detested. They despised the fabrications of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals; their conscience revolted at the thought of conceiving the Roman patriarch as monarch and ruler of the bishops; but in the extremity of despair they at length pronounced the Pope the representative of Christ and chief head of the entire Church, while according to ancient Canon the Patriarch of New Rome only took the second, that of Alexandria the third, the Patriarch of Antioch the fourth, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem the fifth place in the

hierarchy.[1] On July 6 the Byzantines knelt before the Pope, kissed his apostolic hand, heard mass according to the Latin rite, and sighing, assented to the *Veni creator Spiritus.* But it would seem that this self-renunciation hurried Joseph, the Œcumenical Patriarch, to the grave; he was dying when he signed the Catholic formula of faith, and he passed away on June 9, before the union was completed. The Greek Emperor soon after left Florence, to return a renegade and with empty hands to his decaying empire, where the people looked on the union only as a heretical act of policy, received the apostate with denunciations, and adhered to its own observances. In 1443 the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem solemnly condemned the "Robber Synod" of Florence.

Union of the Greeks and Latins in Florence, July 1439.

The dogmatic victory of Eugenius merely intensified the obstinacy of the schismatics in Basle. Although all the cardinals, except Aleman, and several bishops had deserted it, the theologians who desired reform bravely continued the Council. After having deposed Eugenius on June 25, 1439, they proceeded to the election of a new pope on November 5, and fixed on Amadeus VIII. of Savoy. This energetic prince, a member of the ancient family of counts, who from a mountain corner in North Italy mingled in the intercourse of their neighbours only with prudence and always with profit, had been made first Duke of Savoy by Sigismund at Chambéry

The Council of Basle deposes Eugenius IV., June 25, 1439.

[1] Pichler, i. 393. Concerning the true meaning of the concessions of the Greeks and the later Roman falsifications of the Greek article concerned, see the section in Janus, p. 346.

on February 26, 1416. He had ruled his country with wisdom and success, until, on the death of his wife in 1435, he formed the curious resolve of abdicating in favour of his sons and retiring to the solitude of Ripaille on the lake of Geneva. He there founded the order of the Knights of S. Maurice, and, with the six companions who formed it, dwelt as the wealthiest and most powerful of all the hermits of Christendom.[1] If long hair and a flowing beard, a cowl, a cord, an oaken staff and a beautiful monastery could make a saint of its inmate, then would Savoy have esteemed its duke as such. But the widower knight of S. Maurice, wearing the gold cross upon his breast, looked more like the disguised hero of a comedy than a penitent anchorite. And though it may only have been calumny that assigned unholy motives for his hermit's life to the now ageing duke, yet was this life more an agreeable "villeggiatura" than an existence of penance and renunciation. Celestine V. from Monte Murrone would unquestionably have regarded Felix V. on the lake of Geneva as a creature led astray by the devil, an intruder into the Paradise of the saints. The Council of Basle, of which Amadeus had always been a partisan, recognised in him a man adapted for the schism, since, like Cardinal Robert of Geneva formerly, he was a connecting link

Amadeus of Savoy,

[1] As early as 1410 Amadeus had built a hunting lodge and monastery at Ripaille: Scarabelli, *Archiv. Stor. It.*, xiii. (1847), p. 250. The hermitage is described by Eneas Sylvius, *Comm.*, p. 181. According to Guichenon, *Hist. Généal. de la Royale Maison de Savoye*, Amadeus became a hermit as early as November 7, 1434: vol. i. 113; and p. 444 gives the portrait of the princely recluse.

between two nations and stood with one foot in France, the other in Italy, was either related to, or on friendly terms with, all the greatest princes, and was reputed fabulously wealthy. The hermit-duke was assailed with many doubts when he received the decree of election, which, however, scarcely took him by surprise. His judgment yielded to the foolish ambition of appearing on the earthly stage wearing the triple crown. He accepted his election on January 5, 1440, and called himself Felix V. The name was only applicable to his past as prince: it became an irony as pope.

as anti-pope Felix V., Jan. 1440.

Thus the schism was again revived. The world was, however, terrified at the renewal of those sufferings caused by the division of the Church, which ended with the election of Martin V., and almost the whole of Europe condemned the elevation of an anti-pope, of whom it was not even known whether he was duke or bishop. Neither kings nor countries recognised Felix V.; France and England repudiated him; only a few petty princes joined his side. Alfonso upheld him, as he had formerly upheld Peter de Luna, merely to frighten Eugenius. The German Empire remained neutral. Albert died on October 27, 1439, after the States of the Empire with honourable resolution, on March 26, had given legal form to the articles of reform promulgated at Basle. Albert was succeeded by his uncle, Frederick of Steiermark, son of Duke Ernest, whom the Germans had elected as King of the Romans at Frankfort on February 2, 1440. This calm, mediocre and dull prince was destined to wear the crown

Death of King Albert, Oct. 27, 1439.

Frederick, King of the Romans, Feb. 2, 1440.

longer than any other Emperor and to be second founder of the Austrian-Hapsburg dynasty.[1]

5. Vitelleschi Tyrant of Rome—His Fall and Death, March 1440 — Ludovico Scarampo, Regent and Tyrant of Rome—The Vitelleschi in Corneto—Piccinino defeated at Anghiari, June 1440 — Degraded State of Rome — War of the League against Milan—Alfonso conquers Naples, June 1442—Eugenius excommunicates Sforza—He leaves Florence, concludes a Treaty with Alfonso, and recognises him as King of Naples, 1443.

While Eugenius was so deeply immersed in the affairs of the Church, Vitelleschi ruled Rome with tyrannical omnipotence. He had diffused a death-like stillness over the city. As legate of the entire State of the Church, Eugenius had entrusted him with the war against Piccinino, from whom, with the aid of Florence and Venice, he was to wrest Bologna. Instead of carrying out this project, at the end of the year 1439 he turned against Foligno, where the Trinci had ruled for upwards of one hundred years. This family had ousted from the city the Vitelleschi, to whom Foligno had originally belonged, and the Patriarch thus avenged an ancient wrong.[2]

[1] Joseph Chmel, *Gesch. Kaiser Friedrich's IV. und seines Sohnes Maximilian I.*, Hamb., 1840.

[2] About 1359 a Vitellio fled from Foligno to Corneto, where he founded the family of Vitelleschi. In 1392 Giacomo Vitelleschi received Montebello and Fasciano near Toscanello from Boniface IX. Other Vitelleschi settled in Rome. Notices in the Archives of the Capitol, Cred. xiv. T. 72.

A prophecy had announced that the family of despots would be overthrown as soon as flying oxen were seen before the walls of the city. The Trinci quaked when one day they saw the banner of the dreaded Cardinal with two oxen, the arms of his house, fluttering in the wind.[1] The legate acquired Foligno by stratagem, treacherously seized Corrado Trinci with his two sons, carried them to Soriano, and there caused them to be beheaded. Their treasures were taken to Corneto, and thus were these Umbrian despots exterminated.[2] The Cardinal then entered Spoleto, where he caused the provost of the fortress, the Abbot of Montecasino, to be put to death in prison. He afterwards moved to his winter quarters, first to Corneto, then to Rome. His cruelty struck terror into all, but, according to the admission of a Roman, it was pardonable on the score of the terrible state of the city.[3]

Vitelleschi overthrows the Trinci in Foligno, 1439.

Vitelleschi, enriched by the spoils which he had wrested from the tyrants, commanded a considerable body of troops. His soldiers were quartered at Corneto, Soriano, Castelnuovo, Civita Vecchia and Ostia. Four thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry stood at his command, and these forces he intended to lead to Etruria in the spring to make war on Piccinino and Visconti. His character and

[1] *Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 42. The arms of Vitelleschi displayed two oxen, one gold, the other azure.

[2] Poggio, *De Variet.*, p. 113. Albornoz had recognised the Trinci as vicars in Foligno. Borgia, *Stor. di Benev.*, iii. 357.

[3] *Benchè quasi gli era necessità di essere crudele, perchè lo paese di Roma era così corrotto:* Petroni. The Senator Angelo Bonciari of Florence was equally cruel in 1438 and 1439.

greatness excited hatred and distrust among the governments of Italy. The Pope was warned that the Cardinal aimed at the tyranny in the State of the Church, and even at the papal crown. The weak Eugenius was fond of Vitelleschi; he admired the strength of character of a man to whom alone he owed the subjugation of Rome and a great part of the State of the Church. He was therefore unwilling to change his opinion. But the Florentines showed him that they had intercepted letters which proved that the Cardinal maintained a treacherous understanding with Piccinino. According to these letters, instead of defending Tuscany he was to appear with six thousand men and to join the enemy in subjugating Florence. To work the fall of Vitelleschi, the Florentines employed the papal chamberlain and Patriarch of Aquileja, Ludovico Scarampo Mediarota, a Paduan of like, though lesser character. He had been a physician, had then risen to the Curia, and was anxious to fill the post of favourite as soon as it should fall vacant.[1] The Pope allowed himself to be convinced that, with the aid of Piccinino and Milan, Vitelleschi contemplated making himself master of the State of the Church. If it cannot be proved that Vitelleschi really cherished the design, nevertheless, and more especially at this time, a man such as he was perfectly capable of conceiving it.

Formidable power of Vitelleschi.

The Florentines effect the fall of Vitelleschi.

Eugenius consented to the imprisonment of his

[1] On December 25, 1439, Cyriacus of Ancona congratulated him on his elevation as Patriarch of Aquileja: *Itinerarium Kyriaci Ancon.*, ed Mehus, p. 77.

favourite. But the question was how to deprive him of the command of the troops, which as general he wished to retain, while he himself had begged to be removed from the office of legate. Eugenius in fact had already selected Scarampo as his successor.[1] The Florentines sent Luca Pitti to Antonio Rido, provost of S. Angelo, the compatriot and confidant of Scarampo, with a written order from the Pope that he was to seize Vitelleschi alive or dead.[2] Rido himself was at variance with the Cardinal, who wished to deprive him of the post of commander of the fortress, in order to bestow it on one of his captains. On March 19, 1440, Vitelleschi determined to leave Rome for Tuscany. He sent a message to the captain that he wished to speak with him while they were crossing the Ponte S. Angelo. His troops had already crossed; the Cardinal, entirely unsuspicious, followed. As he rode over the bridge the provost of the fortress met him with every sign of respect. But as the Cardinal, engaged in conversation with the provost, turned to the left towards the bronze gates, the grating fell and a chain was

Imprisonment of Vitelleschi, March 19, 1440.

[1] He wrote to the people of Corneto, Florence, April 3, 1440, speaking of Scarampo: *legatum constituimus in omnib. eo modo et forma quib. erat praed. card. Florentinus* (Vitell.), *quo die fuit detentus. qui si etiam non accidisset hic casus, ea legatione diutius uti non intendebat, cum mala detentus valetudine, et ad magnam perductus debilitatem, successorem sibi a nobis dari saepenumero postulaverit.* Brief, drawn up by Blondus, in the Archives of Corneto.

[2] Cavalcanti, *Stor. Flor.*, ii. 106. Ammirato, l. xxi. 21. That Rido had received letters from the Pope is certain, but it is doubtful whether these were genuine. Platina: *sive veris sive ficti Eugenii literis*, &c. Valla directly accused Poggio of having forged the order of arrest; Antidotus in Pogg., p. 199.

stretched behind across the bridge. Rido explained to the Cardinal that he was the Pope's prisoner. Vitelleschi drew his sword and put spurs to his horse, but armed men rushed from S. Angelo and surrounded him and his attendants. They defended themselves bravely, but were defeated. The Cardinal, wounded in the knee, the hand, the head, was struck from his horse with a halberd and dragged bleeding into the fortress. On the news of the occurrence his troops, led by Eversus of Anguillara, turned back furious, demanded the surrender of their general, and threatened to storm the fortress. But the provost displayed from the battlements the Pope's order of arrest, and the troops, pacified, withdrew to Ronciglione.[1]

The Cardinal recognised his fate. He sent for Hieronyma Orsini, a noble matron. She comforted him by saying that the Pope could not have known of his arrest, and would soon set him free. Vitelleschi replied, "A man who has achieved what I have done ought not to be arrested, but if he is, then he ought not to be released. I shall die not of my wounds but of poison."[2] And at the command of Scarampo, who had already entered Rome as legate, his prediction was undoubtedly fulfilled. The Cardinal died in the Castle of S. Angelo on April 2. His remains, scarcely covered, were brought to the Minerva, and there exposed to public view.[3] His

Death of Vitelleschi, April 2, 1440.

[1] Blondus, *Dec.*, iv. i. 564. Bussi, *Storia di Viterbo*, p. 244.

[2] Buonincontrius, p. 149.

[3] *E li forse a seid di lo fecero morire:* Paolo di Ponte.—*Aloisii* (Scarampo) *enim vafri et astuti opera sublatum e medio Vitellescum*

relations were afterwards permitted to bury them in the Cathedral of Corneto.

Thus like many of his kind by treason fell the great man, who had been more powerful than the Pope. That he himself was a traitor remains unproved.[1] Among his contemporaries there is scarcely one that has not denounced the memory of Vitelleschi. More especially was this done by Eugenius' private secretaries Poggio and Biondo; Valla also, in his treatise concerning the fictitious Donation of Constantine, made use of this terrible figure to demonstrate how cruel and barbarous was the rule of priests.[2] Vitelleschi was the perfect precursor of Caesar Borgia, who sixty years later continued his work with still greater dexterity and with ampler means, and who like Vitelleschi finally perished by treason. In the period of the restoration of the political Papacy, he was the first statesman who with fire and sword, justice and injustice, force and artifice, undertook to exterminate the tyrants in the ecclesiastical state in order from a Cardinal to make himself master of this state. By nature he was a condottiere like Braccio and Sforza.

crediderim: Platina.—*E lui vituperoso fu de notte portato a S. Maria in giuppetto, scalzo, e senza brache:* Petroni.

[1] His contemporaries, Biondo, Poggio, Cavalcanti, believed in his conspiracy. Petroni cautiously says: *se fu preso e morto di commandamento del papa, e se la meritò, io non lo so descrivere, perchè i gran fatti sono de' gran Maestri.*—Infessura, p 1129: *e dicevasi, che si volea fare signore di Roma.* His fall reminds us of Wallenstein.

[2] *Sileo, quam saevus, quam vehemens, quam barbarus dominatus frequenter est sacerdotum. Quod si ante ignorabatur, nuper est cognitum ex monstro illo atque portento, Johe Vitelesco Cardinale et Patriarcha.* In the treatise written about 1440.

If his fall now excited universal joy, in Rome, strange to say, nothing was heard but the voice of regret; for the man had well understood the art of governing as tyrant. Concerning his fall, the chronicler of Rome naively writes: "I do not know whether this was a judgment of God, for, as you have heard, he was a man entirely filled with cruelty, arrogance, passion, debauchery and vanity; he kept us in great discipline and prosperity; as long as he lived corn was worth twelve carlins the rubbio; on his death it rose to twenty-two in fifteen days, so that the majority of the people were greatly distressed."[1] The price of bread was invariably the gauge of the feelings of the populace, and moreover we shall do no injustice to the Romans of that time, if we assert that loftier political ideas survived in but few of the burghers.

Revolt of the Vitelli in Corneto.

Corneto suffered severely in the fall of its fellow-citizen. The town in the Maremma owed much to the Cardinal; he had favoured it by the bestowal of many privileges, and had provided many of its citizens with offices. The faction of the Vitelli, incensed by the seizure of the Cardinal's property, consequently rose. Immediately after his imprisonment the Pope had sent Scarampo to Rome to seize the estate of the deceased, which now belonged to him.[2] It consisted of gold and jewels amounting to

[1] Paolo Petroni.

[2] *Quia ex testamento sic voluit, et alia ratione sint nostrae* (sc. *res*). Brief to Corneto, Flor. 11, April 1440. Corneto Archives, Cassetta, C. n. 3. On April 14, 1440, Scarampo annuls the sale of the Tenuta Tarquinese, which the Hospital of S. Spirito had made over

the sum—great at that time—of 300,000 ducats. Scarampo appointed a commission to take the inventory, and sent his plenipotentiaries to Corneto. They were murdered by the Vitelli, but the Commune soothed the uproar and hastened to excuse it to the Pope.[1] Peter and Manfred Vitelleschi hereupon surrendered the fortresses and treasures belonging to their uncle, and the formidable power of the vanquisher of the Colonna, the Anibaldi, Savelli, Gaetani, of Antonio of Pontedera, of Vico, Trinci and Varani, thus shattered at his death, was never perpetuated in his family.[2]

Eugenius veiled his connivance in the fall of the minister to whom he had been so greatly indebted. He explained that the event of March 19 had only been the accidental result of the dissensions between the Cardinal and the castellan.[3] However, even had he desired not the death, but merely the trial of

to the Bishop Bartolomeo de' Vitelleschi of Corneto, as Procurator of the Cardinal Giovanni Vitelleschi: *Arch. Sto. Spirito*, iv. 73.

[1] On April 28, Scarampo (already Cardinal-legate) absolves Corneto therefor. *Dat. Romae in habitat. Eae S. Laurentii in Dam. die XXVIII., Aprelis MCCCCXL. Ind. III.* On April 30 Eugenius wrote from Florence to the people of Corneto, praising them. Corneto Archives.

[2] His nephew Bartolomeo, Bishop of Corneto, afterwards erected a monument to him in Corneto. Ciacconius, ii. 900, who mentions a Privilegium of Sixtus IV. for the Vitelleschi. The Popes recognised the services rendered by this suppressor of tyrants as readily as they did those of Caesar Borgia.

[3] Brief to Corneto of April 3, *ut supra. Proxim. dieb. intellecto de casu quem in persona dil. fil. nri. Johis Card. Florent. Ap. Sed. Legati accidere fecerunt simultates inter praed. Card. et dil. fil. Castellanum nostrum S. Angeli de urbe, illico misimus ad urbem vener. frat. Lodov. Patriarch. Aquilejensem.*

Vitelleschi, he could not for a moment doubt that Scarampo, his new favourite, would adopt any half measures. To Scarampo he soon made over all the offices which had been filled by the dead, and Antonio Rido was also handsomely rewarded.[1]

The war against Piccinino was now undertaken by Scarampo. The Florentines, under Micheletto d'Attendolo and Giampaolo Orsini, uniting their forces with his, fought the bloodless but decisive victory of Anghiari on June 29, 1440. The troops of Piccinino were scattered, the Tuscan and Roman territories were delivered from the enemy, and his success made Scarampo a great man. Eugenius soon after created him Cardinal of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. At the same time he made Pietro Barbo cardinal, and from this moment dates an inextinguishable hatred between the favourite and the nephew. Scarampo, a crafty upstart, not devoid of education, but rich and gluttonous like Lucullus, a libertine and yet at the same time a brave condottiere, now ruled in Rome with the iron severity of his predecessor.[2] The barons did not stir; the citizens trembled before the despotic command of the new

Cardinal Scarampo successor to Vitelleschi.

[1] Rido received the confiscated estates of the Savelii, especially S. Pietro in Formis. *Bullar. Vat.*, ii. 105, 110. *Atti dell' Acad. Roman. di Archaeol.*, iv., App., n. i. Nibby, *Analisi*, under S. Pietro in Formula.

[2] Cortesius, *De Cardinalatu*, p. 67, says that the daily cost of his table amounted to 20 ducats. He was like his time vicious, energetic, ambitious. The noble Venetian Francesco Barbaro maintained a correspondence with him. He once wrote: *novi animum tuum magnum et excelsum, et dignum rebus gerendis nichil abjectum, nichil humile posse cogitare.* F. Barbaro, Ep. cxxi.

satrap and his police. With the removal of the Curia, poverty and squalor had gained the ascendancy, and if ever proof were needed that the most cruel and sanguinary laws and the sight of daily executions are of no avail in the improvement of the moral condition of a people, it was afforded in the time of Vitelleschi and Scarampo. Robbery, vengeance and murder filled the city with horrors. The deserted basilicas were robbed of every article of value, even of their marbles, and Eugenius consequently issued a bull of excommunication against all persons guilty of sacrilege.[1] It was so utterly ineffective that even clergy, beneficed priests of the Lateran, stole the gems with which Urban V. had adorned the cases containing the heads of the apostles. The jewels were discovered and brought back to the Lateran, and the thieves were executed, with the cruel forms sanctioned by the law of those days, on the Piazza of S. Giovanni.[2]

With increasing urgency the Romans besought Eugenius to return; but reluctance, the schism, and the wars in Lombardy, the Marches and Naples still kept him away. In October 1441 the peace of Cavriana at length put an end to the war waged by

[1] Florence, March 30, 1436. Theiner, iii. n. 281.

[2] They were first exposed for some days in a cage on the Campo di Fiore. The Canon Nicolò, seated on an ass and wearing a mitre decorated with figures of devils, was led through the city and hanged on a tree beside San Giovanni. The two others were burnt. This terrible story (of the year 1438) was depicted on a tower at the Lateran (Petroni and Infessura). And the clay mask on the wall of a house in the street which leads from the Lateran to S. Maria Maggiore is believed to be the portrait of one of the executed men.

the league against Milan, whose general Piccinino had been defeated by the condottiere of Venice—the injured Francesco Sforza. As a consequence of this peace Sforza married Bianca, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Filippo Maria, who brought him Cremona as dowry. The Neapolitan war however still remained to be tranquillised. The schismatics of Basle fixed their eyes on Alfonso, and Eugenius's hope of overthrowing the King by the weapons of Anjou was shown to be futile. Scarcely was René released from the prison of the Duke of Burgundy, during the terrible war between France and England, when he hastened to Naples, where he met a welcome reception from the people. But fortune was unkind. After strenuous efforts, Alfonso conquered the capital of the country on June 2, 1442. From the deck of a Genoese galley René looked sadly on beautiful Naples, which he quitted for ever. He hurried to Florence. Eugenius merely mocked at the misfortunes of the fugitive, in bestowing on him the diploma of investiture with a Kingdom which he had lost. The last King of Naples of the house of Anjou returned to Provence. His rights were usurped by the monarchs of France, in order afterwards to assert them against the successors of the fortunate Alfonso, to whom the whole Kingdom now did homage.

Peace of Cavriana, Oct. 1441.

Alfonso of Aragon, Master of Naples, June 1442.

The success of his most powerful enemy completely disconcerted Eugenius. Alfonso, as formerly Ladislaus, might now easily subjugate Rome, and give greater importance to the schism. True that the King had not recognised Felix V., who had

been consecrated at Basle on June 24, 1441, but this he threatened to do, in order to wring from Eugenius the investiture of Naples. This investiture was offered him by the anti-pope, and he carried on negotiations with the two popes at the same time. Eugenius finally accepted the proposals which the King made through Borgia, Bishop of Valencia. He was also persuaded to this change of policy by the thought of utilising the arms of Alfonso to wrest the Marches from Sforza. Sforza was at enmity with Alfonso on account of the Neapolitan possessions, of which the latter had deprived him. Previous to the conquest of Naples René had summoned him to his deliverance, and the Count had already set forth, when he was detained by unexpected hindrances. For Visconti, tormented by envy of the fortune of his son-in-law, in whom he foresaw a successor and an heir, had formed a secret alliance with the Pope and sent Piccinino to Umbria. Piccinino here seized Todi, a town that then belonged to Sforza. The statecraft which prevailed in Italy at this period revolts us by the intricacies of treachery and cunning, in which Eugenius IV., Visconti, Alfonso and Sforza showed themselves equal masters. If we recall the artifices by which Sforza had obtained possession of the Marches, we shall scarcely be surprised that the Pope repaid him in his own coin.

Eugenius IV. makes war on Sforza.

On August 3, 1442, Eugenius pronounced Sforza a rebel, and demanded the surrender of all the towns belonging to the State of the Church, which

he had occupied.[1] Florence and Venice tried to protect the man, who had been their ally and general for so many years; the Pope on the other hand sought to form against him, with Visconti and Alfonso, a league, to which he appointed Piccinino as his standard bearer, so that circumstances soon made friends of his hitherto bitterest enemies and an opponent of his hitherto most zealous ally. He renounced the republic of Florence, which had provided him for so many years with an asylum, money and arms. He owed her a grudge because she upheld Sforza in possession of the Marches. While he carried on negotiations with Alfonzo and Filippo Maria, he announced his intention of leaving Florence. This city, like Venice, was angry at the change in the papal policy, and at first wished to detain Eugenius by menaces; then, however, it let him go his way. After having removed the Council to Rome in April 1443, he went to Siena, which was at enmity with Florence, and there he remained several months. On July 6 he here ratified the treaty which Scarampo had made with Alfonso at Terracina on June 14. The King therein promised to recognise Eugenius as Pope, to become a vassal of the Church, to equip galleys for the war against the Turks, and finally to lend troops to wrest the Marches from Sforza. Eugenius in return promised

Eugenius IV. forms a league with Alfonso.

[1] Bull, Florence, August 3, 1442. Raynald, n. xi. The last crime laid to Sforza's charge is that of refusing to surrender Bologna (which was occupied by Piccinino) to the Church, as, according to the Treaty of Cavriano, he ought to have done, and of occupying Forli.

to recognise him as King of Sicily on the north side of the Pharus, his natural son Don Ferrante as his legitimate heir, and to invest him with Benevento and Terracina for life. Thus after having served the Pope's purposes for so many years, and twice received investiture at his hands, René was abandoned to his fate and the crown of Naples passed by legal title to the house of Aragon.

The treaty with Alfonso immediately changed the whole position of the Pope. It secured him not only the upper hand in Italian affairs, but also an inestimable advantage in regard to the Council. The Duke of Milan now also joined the side of Eugenius, and the King's entry into the Marches placed Sforza in the gravest difficulty. Eugenius consequently could now return to Rome, where the legate, who had removed all such Romans as were dangerous or inconvenient by putting them to death, was now expecting his master.[1]

[1] Infessura, p. 1129. He had put to death the Captain Gino of Albano and Paolo Anibaldi of Molara: *cujus virtus homini magis astuto quam forti suspecta erat. Rebus autem hoc modo compositis, Eugenius—Romam veniens. . . .* Platina.

6. Return of Eugenius IV., September 1443 — Terrible Condition of the City—The Council in the Lateran — Eugenius makes War on Sforza in the Marches—Frederick III. forms an Alliance with the Pope—Becomes a Traitor to the German Ecclesiastical Reformation—The States of the Empire agree to Profess "Obedience"—Piccolomini goes to Rome with the German Envoys, November 1446—Germany's Concordat with the Pope—Death of Eugenius IV., February 23, 1447.

Return of Eugenius IV. to Rome, Sept. 28, 1443.

On September 28, 1443, Eugenius entered the city. The same people, who had once savagely followed him down the Tiber, now streamed forth to meet him miles beyond the Ponte Molle, and received him with enforced homage. He was accompanied by five cardinals. He passed the night in the convent of S. Maria del Popolo. The following morning, riding in procession under a baldacchino, he repaired to the Vatican. When he arrived at the Piazza Colonna the people shouted, "Long live the Church! down with the new taxes and those who invented them!" He ordered the abolition of the wine tax, imposed by Scarampo. After an exile of more than nine years Eugenius found Rome sunk in the same misery in which Martin V. had found her. The discovery was a painful one, and, moreover, it was only with great reluctance that he had returned. Did he contrast the flourishing condition, refinement of manners, and intellectual activity of Florence—the school

par excellence of learning and art—with the barbarous and deserted state of Rome, he must have shuddered in horror. His biographer, speaking of the condition of Rome at the time, says: "Owing to the absence of the Pope, the city had become like a village of cow-herds; sheep and cattle wandered through the streets, to the very spot now occupied by the merchants' stalls."[1] The daily sight of heads or limbs of men who had been quartered nailed to the doors, left in cages, or exhibited on spears, or the daily spectacle of criminals led to prison or the place of execution, must have shocked even the hardened nerves of contemporaries.[2]

Eugenius only remained nineteen days in the Vatican; then he removed his abode to the Lateran to open the thinly attended Council on October 13. That he did this in Rome, that he could hurl his excommunications on the Fathers in Basle from the Lateran, was an advantage such as had secured the victory to all his predecessors similarly situated. His days, it is true, were disturbed by serious cares, by the war against Sforza, the schism, and the negotiations with the German Empire, which he endeavoured to move from its position of neutrality.

Eugenius IV. opens the Council in the Lateran, Oct. 13, 1443.

Sforza was supported by Florence and Venice, and by some despots, such as his brother Alessandro Lord of Pesaro and Sigismund Malatesta; the Pope,

[1] Vespasiano, *Vita di Eugenio IV.*

[2] On September 12, 1444, Cardinal Angelotto de Foschi (of the house of Fusci de Berta, created in 1431) was murdered by his servant. He is the same to whom, on his appointment, Poggio addressed the adulatory letter (Ep. xxv. in the edition *de Varietate*) and whose stupidity he ridicules in the *Facetiae*.

however, upheld Alfonso and Visconti, whom his son-in-law attacked with one hand and defended with the other. The Council of Basle, shaken by Alfonso's desertion, was also deceived in the hope that dislike of the thankless Eugenius might induce Venice and Florence to recognise Felix V. It received the envoys of Sforza, who was now anxious to become the actual vicar of the Council; but his demands for money were too exorbitant for the empty coffers of the anti-pope. His promises were also treacherous. Niccolo Piccinino, his great rival, died at Milan on September 8, 1444, of mortification at the revolt of Bologna, which under Annibale Bentivoglio had reasserted its freedom and had entered into a league with Florence and Venice, and also of grief for the defeat of his son Francesco at the hands of the same Sforza. And thus on October 10, 1444, Sforza obliged Eugenius to make a peace, which secured the condottiere in possession of the greater part of the Marches. The Pope, however, was soon again at war. His army was led by Scarampo as legate and captain. Sforza watched his cities fall one by one until Jesi alone remained, and he was obliged to seek protection from Frederick of Urbino. He recovered himself, however, in 1446. Encouraged by Cosimo and the Florentines, against whom the Pope incited Alfonso, and allured by the prospect of the support of the Roman barons, especially the Anguillara, in May 1446 he formed the courageous resolve of marching against Rome itself. He reckoned on the influence of Cardinal Nicola Acciapaccio of Capua, who was at enmity

Death of Niccolo Piccinino, Sept. 8, 1444.

with Scarampo and Alfonso, and who had been excommunicated by the Pope. He pushed as far as Bolsena in June. But he was deceived by Eversus; the barons did not rise; and he was forced to turn and retire below the walls of Urbino.

Not less successful was Eugenius in his war against the schism. If Felix V. had cherished the ambitious idea of being elected as pope of the union by a European Council, to shine before the world as Martin V. had done and then to make his seat in Rome, he must have found the hope vanish day by day. He only obtained recognition from Savoy, the confederates, some petty princes, some bishops, and imperial cities. Living in neglect and holding his court at Lausanne, he left business affairs to his cardinals, among whom Aleman and John of Segovia, the historian of the Council of Basle, were the only men of prominence. He had nominated a series of cardinals, and it is worth observing that among them was Bartolommeo, Bishop of Corneto, a nephew of Vitelleschi.[1] In vain did the now diminished Council strive to win Germany and France to the obedience of its Pope; Eugenius finally succeeded in gaining their adhesion. The all-important question now was that of inducing the King of the Romans and the princes of the Empire to abandon their attitude of neutrality, since this constituted the greatest danger to the Papacy. The Empire thereby assumed an independent position

Unfortunate position of Felix V. and the Fathers at Basle.

[1] Ciacconius, ii. 946. He rendered obedience to Nicholas V., and again became Bishop of Corneto and Montefiascone. He died on his return from Jerusalem at Modon in 1463.

and thus obtained an ecclesiastical separation from Rome by means of a German reform. The electors and states of the Empire made a violent resistance; to restore unity they demanded a Council in a German city. But the anarchic constitution of the Empire and the incompetence of Frederick III., who had no comprehension of the most important concerns of the German people, facilitated the victory of the Roman Curia, more especially as Caspar Schlick, Frederick's powerful chancellor, was won to the side of Eugenius. Endless diets produced no result. The Roman legates, first Cesarini (who, with King Ladislaus, met his death in the ill-starred battle against the Turks at Varna on November 10, 1444), afterwards Carvajal, the Archbishop Thomas Parentucelli of Bologna, and Niccolo of Cusa (who had apostatised from the Council of Basle) worked and worked successfully to overcome the opposition of Germany. The greatest services, however, were rendered by the intellectual adventurer Piccolomini of Siena, who had served all masters and parties in turn, had first been secretary to Felix V., then to Schlick and Frederick III., had first fought for German neutrality, then been induced to abandon it by more splendid prospects, and from 1445 onwards had been Eugenius's most zealous instrument at Frederick's court.

Victory of Eugenius IV. over the German opposition.

In a secret treaty concluded with the legate Carvajal at Vienna, the King of the Romans sold the cause of the reformation of the German Church to the Pope for the miserable sum of a few thousand florins, the prospect of being crowned emperor, and

ecclesiastical advantages in his hereditary Kingdom.[1] The league of electors (concluded at Frankfort on March 21, 1446), which determined to continue the resistance, and urged an Œcumenical Council and the recognition of the decrees of reform at Basle, was dissolved by the apostasy of Dietrich, Archbishop of Mainz. The States of the Empire, some of which had been bribed, agreed to the declaration of obedience on the ground of the propositions of Frankfort of October 5, 1446. The cause of German reform was defeated by the alliance of the Papacy and Empire for the maintenance of their endangered authority. If the strivings of the German as of the Gallican Church towards autonomy warred against the absolute power of the Papacy, the hostile attitude of the electors and the States of the Empire was in perfect harmony with the aims of the national churches. For here also the endeavour made itself felt to modify the constitution of the Empire by the independence of territorial princes. Face to face with these dangers, Pope and Emperor made common cause. The mediæval idea triumphed once more over the requirements of the new age.

The Emperor sells the cause of religious reform in Germany to the Pope.

Armed with this treaty Frederick's envoys, Piccolomini and Procopius of Rebstein, hurried from Vienna to Rome on November 16, 1446, while envoys from Mainz, the Palatinate, Saxony, Branden-

[1] Vogt, i. 356 and Appendix II.: Letter of Heimburg to the Archbishop of Gran. "The cause of the Council and of the reformation of the Church in Germany were thereby lost, and the German Church sank step by step into her former servitude": Janus, p. 353.

burg and other princes of the empire likewise hastened thither.[1] The ambassadors of the German "obedience" created a great sensation in Rome. They were solemnly received by all the clergy a mile outside the city. Since the restoration of the Papacy, the entries of envoys, not only to do homage on the accession of a pope, but on other occasions also, were celebrated with strictly ceremonious observances, which imparted a new character to the life of the city. The diaries of the masters of the ceremonies are filled with accounts of such entrances. The foreign envoys were lodged according to circumstances in the palaces of nobles or cardinals, or in public hostelries.[2] The Germans frequented a house on the Capitol, where they were received by the Apostolic Thesaurarius in the name of the Pope.[3] Admitted to an audience at Christmas, Piccolomini

The German embassy of obedience in Rome, Dec. 1446.

[1] Piccolomini's report to Frederick III., *Mscr. Vat.*, 8093, and in Muratori, iii. ii. 878. All the German envoys met in Siena; they journeyed, sixty strong, by Baccano to Rome. Piccolomini complains of the lack of inns: *Eaque hospitia faciunt Theutonici. Hoc hominum genus totam fere Italiam hospitalem facit*—as the Swiss often do now.

[2] The chief hotels in Rome at this time were the *Taberna Solis* and the *Hospitium Campanae* at the Campo di Fiore. Ambassadors engaged their quarters beforehand, and so did princes. In 1482 Count Eberhard of Wurtemberg inhabited a house, which the Procurator of the Teutonic Order had hired for him in the Regola. (Jacopo Volaterran, p. 166.) In 1486 the Polish envoys dwelt in the Palazzo Bufalo; the Neapolitans in the Palazzo Millini; the Milanese in the Palazzo Santa Croce.

[3] It was customary to send provisions to the dwellings of ambassadors, as is still the case with travellers in the East. The Cardinal of Bologna sent wild boar, game and wine to the Germans; the cup-bearer of the Pope, sweetmeats, wax and wine. The cardinals invited them in turn to dinner. Piccolomini's report.

delivered an address to Eugenius. The discussions were tedious. Only a part of the German nation yielded obedience, and this obedience was allied to conditions which were unacceptable to the hierarchical party. More especially unacceptable was the decree of Constance, which ordained that Councils were to be held at given intervals, required the abolition of annates, and demanded the reinstatement of the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who had been suspended by the Pope. The views of the ecclesiastical party were vehemently upheld by the majority of the cardinals, more especially by Torquemada and Borgia.[1] Scarampo was in favour of the acceptance of the Concordat; so also were the newly-elected cardinals, the Spaniard Carvajal and Parentucelli, who as legates had dissolved the league of electors. They had but recently returned, and while on their way had been rewarded with the red hat. The task of settlement was facilitated by the surrender of the German envoys and also by the fatal illness which attacked Eugenius in the beginning of January 1447. As he felt his end approach, his most earnest desire was to see the German Empire once more united to Rome.

The German Concordat,

After a long struggle he agreed to the articles drawn up by Piccolomini, but shrank terrified before this weak concession to the German reformation. Before handing from his bed the bulls to the ambassadors, he entered a documentary protest on February 5, explaining that these concessions,

[1] *Dicebant, venditam esse Theutonicis Apostolicam sedem, seque quasi bubalos duci naribus.* Report, *ut supra*, p. 882.

wrung from a mind darkened by illness, were to be considered null if they militated against the teachings of the Fathers of the Church or the rights of the Sacred Chair. To what ends could not each of his successors turn this dishonest reservation! On February 7 the bulls of the Concordat were promulgated; the envoys rendered obedience, and the reconciliation of the empire to the Roman Papacy was celebrated with processions, in which the fabulous tiara of Sylvester was carried. The Papacy in truth had won a more important victory than that of union with Greeks, Armenians or Ethiopians. It had stemmed for years the current of reform in Germany.

concluded on Feb. 7, 1447.

Eugenius lay dying in the Vatican. As early as January 9 Alfonso had arrived with troops in Tivoli, where he encamped under pretext of guarding the safety of the city, but with the intention of influencing the new election. The campaign, which he had planned with the Pope against Florence, was one of the causes of his march, but it was believed that Scarampo, who was hated by the whole of Rome, had summoned him for his own security.[1] On February 14 Eugenius again entrusted his favourite with the custody of all fortified places in and near Rome; for the people were in a ferment, and the revenge of the barons, oppressed by Vitelleschi and Scarampo, was dreaded. The democratic party also gave signs of life.

[1] Infessura, p. 1130. Report of Piccolomini, pp. 883, 887. The Romans immediately raised the price of victuals. The streets became unsafe, the shops were closed.

Finding the hour of death approach, Eugenius summoned the cardinals, who, with the exception of Prospero Colonna, were all his creatures. He reviewed the circumstances of his pontificate; flight and exile, schism and wars had rendered it equal to the most unfortunate of papal reigns, until these sufferings, the majority of which he had brought on himself, were succeeded by his restoration and his victory over the Council. He spoke with satisfaction of the union with Germany, which he owed to the King of the Romans, the Archbishop of Mainz and the Margrave of Brandenburg. Conscious of the base means that he had used to gain the victory over Germany, he exclaimed with a sigh that it would have been better for his salvation to have remained in the cloister rather than become Pope. Nevertheless he died as pontiff, in the hope that the last remains of the schism might not long survive, and, with the exception of Bologna and Jesi, was able to bequeath the entire State of the Church to his successor. And he expressed the desire that the cardinals would unanimously promote a mediocre man, rather than disagree and elect one of eminence.

Death of Eugenius IV., Feb. 23, 1447.

Eugenius died on February 23, 1447, sixty-two years of age. Contemporaries and posterity have differently judged this Pope, whose reign is momentous in history on account of the movement of reform, which, although unsuccessful, left its traces behind. Piccolomini, who was grateful to Eugenius, drew a most flattering portrait of him. "He was a great and glorious Pope, he despised money, loved virtue, was neither arrogant in fortune,

Piccolomini's description of Eugenius IV.

nor dispirited in adversity: he knew no fear; his resolute soul always bore the same aspect; stern and hard towards enemies, he was benign towards those whom he took into his confidence. Tall of figure and of handsome countenance, his old age was full of majesty." Piccolomini, however, adds a reproach, saying that he did not measure himself and things by a just standard; did not grasp what he could, but what he would.[1] To precipitancy in action he added capriciousness and lack of worldly experience, due to a life spent in the solitude of the cloister. His weakness disposed him to diplomatic intrigues.[2] He would never have weathered the storms of his reign had he not been served by gifted men. Shrewd statesmen, learned theologians, tyrants in the garb of patriarchs fought in his behalf against the Council of Basle and acquired the State of the Church. To his praise be it said, without fear of contradiction, that he remained free from nepotism. He was even called ungrateful because he did not reward the Orsini to whom he owed the Papacy, and in part the recovery of the State of the Church. No member of the house was raised to the purple. After the fall of the Colonna he shrank from elevating their rivals. Above all he did not care for Rome. Among the cardinals whom he appointed there was not a single Roman.

[1] *De statu Europae.* Freher, i. c. 59, and Report, p. 891.

[2] *Uomo moteo capitoso e di dura testa,* says Petroni. Platina's eulogy is significant: *constans in pactis servandis—nisi quid pollicitus fuisset, quod revocare quam perficere satius esset.* When he calls him *vir ingenio insignis,* his words may be estimated at the same worth as the fulsome praises of Valla.

His intellectual education was but small; he found scholars, however, whom he employed in his service. Leonardo Aretino and Poggio, Aurispa, Blondus and Maffeo Vegio were his secretaries, and later we shall have to extol the reign of Eugenius IV. for its services in the cause of intellectual culture. His master passion was his love for the Minorites. The Pope refused to reform the Church, but urged with fervour the unimportant reform of the convents of this observance. He wished to make effete monasticism once more the bulwark of the Papacy, and with it to combat the destructive tendency to which humanistic learning was lending increasing strength. He drove the secular canons from the Lateran and filled their places with regular clergy, for whom he also built a monastery. The free-thinking Poggio jeered at the fact that the Minorites swarmed like ants round the throne of Eugenius. The Franciscans Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistran were his ideals. Eugenius wished to canonise Bernardino after his death at Aquila in 1444. In the midst of the classic paganism of the Renascence, Minorite monks such as these, going about preaching repentance, formed a weak opposition that excited the ridicule of the Humanists.

The Minorites and Eugenius IV.

A saint of Rome at this period deserves a passing notice. This was Francesca, bearing the surname Romana, a member of the family of the Pontiani, who founded a convent for noble women in her house, which still remains near the Tor de' Specchi. She died on March 9, 1440, and was buried in S. Maria Nuova near the Arch of Titus. Under

Francesca Romana.

Paul V. the name of the saint was bestowed on this ancient church. Francesca was reputed a prophetess. She foretold to Eugenius his persecution through the schism, and predicted the afflictions of the Romans by the condottieri; but nevertheless the saintly widow was not able to seat herself on the prophetic throne, which had been left vacant by the celebrated Bridget of Sweden.[1]

[1] The religious foundation in her house, delle Religiose Oblate di Tor de' Specchi, still survives. Armellini, *Vita di S. Francesca Romana, scritta nell' idioma volgare di Roma del secolo XV.* . . . Roma, 1882.

CHAPTER II.

1. Stefano Porcaro and the Roman Democracy—The Conclave—Nicholas V.—His Past—End of the Schism and of the Council of Basle, 1449—Peace Restored in the State of the Church—Death of Visconti, Duke of Milan, 1447—Sforza Acquires the Throne of Milan, 1450.

Immediately after the death of Eugenius a democratic movement threatened to break out in Rome, of which the knight Stefano Porcaro hoped to become the leader. He was a man of fantastic ideas, who thirsted for fame, was filled with enthusiasm for the ideals of the past, but had no clear grasp of the present. He belonged to an ancient bourgeois family, but wishing to represent himself as descended from the Catos, he changed his name to Porcius. Stefano Porcaro.

His abilities had attracted the attention of Martin V., to whose recommendation he owed the office of Captain of the People in Florence.[1] After having honourably filled the post in 1427 and 1428, he travelled through France, Germany, and other countries, and returned to Rome with his younger brother Mariano in 1431.[2] Although an adherent

[1] With high praise Stefano was again ratified in the office of the *Capitaneus Populi* by the republic of Florence in 1428. Tommasini in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vol. iii. (1880), p. 91 ff.

[2] Just at the time when Traversari was in Rome : *rediit ill. et. cl.*

of the Colonnas, Eugenius made him Podestà of Bologna in 1433, and this office he also filled with distinction. During the revolution in Rome in 1434, Porcaro had gone to Florence as mediator between the Pope and the Roman populace; he appears in the same year as Podestà in Siena, and was afterwards sent by Eugenius in the same capacity to Orvieto.[1] Here also during the year 1436 he gained the affections of the citizens and the praise of the patriarch Vitelleschi as well as of the Pope.

Poggio, Lionardo Aretino and Traversari, Ciriaco and Manetti, Niccoli and other men belonging to learned circles in Florence and Rome respected Porcaro as a classically educated Roman of brilliant talents, which rendered him a favourite with all whom he encountered.[2] Men listened in admiration to his speeches, penetrated as they were with antiquarian affectation, because they were inspired with passionate enthusiasm for civic freedom.[3]

Head of the Republicans in Rome.

Porcaro lived in indifferent circumstances in the family dwelling, which still exists near S. Giovanni della Pigna. He hoped for an opportunity of

Eques Steph. Porcius peragrata Gallia Germaniaque et Occidente fere omni, una cum ill. adulescentulo Mariano fratre suo—Hodoeporicon, Flor. 1678, p. 11.—See also his Ep., lib. iii. 3 *sq.*

[1] Eugenius IV.'s bull of nomination of November 1, 1435, in Fumi, *Il Governo di Stef. Porcari in Orvieto*, Rome, 1883, ii. 35.

[2] Traversari, Ep. 20 xix., Ep. 23 viii., where he reckons Stefano and Mariano as his most intimate friends. Distichs of Stefano to Ciriacus in *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium ed Mehus*, p. 14.

[3] Manuscripts containing his speeches are preserved in Florence and Rome (Minerva, Cod. c. v. 14, Bibl. Chigi, L. iv. 126). Eight speeches in Mansi, *Testi di lingua inediti*, Rome, 1816. I find in them a great amount of verbosity and but little substance.

effecting a revolution, and on the death of Eugenius IV. believed that this opportunity had arrived. He now assembled the popular Council in Ara Coeli, the ancient Church of the Senate, which Eugenius had ratified as such in 1445.[1] The demands which were to be proposed to the College of Cardinals with regard to the reduced privileges of the city were discussed. Porcaro made a speech; he said that it was a disgrace that the servant of the Scipios should be reduced to become the servant of priests. Rome ought to stand in relations stipulated by treaty with the Pope, since even insignificant communes maintained their independence in return for a tribute paid to the Church.[2] Many Romans shared Porcaro's theories; the ideas of Cola di Rienzo concerning the majesty of the Roman people still survived. They had also been reiterated by Nicola Signorili, secretary of the Senate in the time of Martin V. A few years before, in his criticism of Constantine's Donation, Valla with unexampled audacity had disputed the temporal authority of the Pope over Rome, and had demanded the secularisation of the State of the Church.

Porcaro on the Capitol incites the Romans to strike for freedom.

Porcaro was interrupted in his speech by some terrified city councillors and by Astorgio Agnesi, Archbishop of Benevento and governor of the city; others encouraged him to proceed. The parliament dispersed in excitement. A second met with no

[1] Bull, Rome, June 5, 1445, Vitale, p. 413.

[2] Infessura, at that time secretary to the Senate, said: *disse cose utili per la nostra Repubblica.* The speech is also mentioned by Leon Battista Alberti, *De Porcaria conjuratione*, Mur., xxv. 309.

better success. Fear of the arms of Alfonso who was near, to Porcaro's grief, prevented all patriotic action on the part of the citizens. For the King of Naples would have made use of a popular rising to enter Rome, from which the Cardinals wished to keep him afar. A decree of the cardinals banished all the barons from the city, which remained quiet. The Capitol was consigned to the protection of the Procurator of the Teutonic knights.[1]

Conclave of March 1447.

Eighteen cardinals met in the Minerva on March 4, 1447.[2] Piccolomini has left us an interesting account of the Conclave. He was still in Rome as orator of Frederick III., and, with the envoys of Aragon and Cyprus, had been appointed to guard the doors of the Conclave. He made note of some ridiculous customs, which he hoped to see abolished. To each of the cardinals food was brought in a coffer (known as a cornuto), painted with his arms. This was carried by two servants, two others preceded it, and it was followed by a procession of clergy and parasites, the "family" of the cardinal. These chests traversed Rome like so many funeral processions, and Piccolomini made fun of the courtiers, who, in the absence of the Cardinal, did reverence to the chest that contained his meals.[3]

[1] Account of Piccolomini, p. 891. These procurators dwelt in the Borgo. Concerning their precarious position on a salary of 1400 florins, see: *Stimmen aus Rom. über d. päpstl. Hof im* 15. *Jahrh.* by Joh. Voigt.

[2] They are enumerated in the *Diari di Stefano Caffari* (taken from the MS. of G. Coletti in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vol viii. (1885), p. 570, f.).

[3] Beside the Catafalque of the dead pope (*castrum doloris*) Picco-

Nicholas of Capua, who had returned from his exile, fixed his hopes on the tiara. He died soon after of mortification at his disappointment. An ancient proverb in Rome says: "Whoso enters the Conclave as Pope, returns as Cardinal." And Prospero Colonna experienced the truth of the saying. The faction of his powerful house, which strove to obtain permanent supremacy in Rome, found itself mistaken in its calculations, for the Archbishop of Bologna and Cardinal of S. Susanna obtained an entirely unhoped-for majority on March 6. Capranica, seeing the result of the ballot, which made a poor and scarcely known cardinal pope, in astonishment counted the voting papers a second time. He found them correct, and the former schoolmaster of Sarzana received the homage of his colleagues as Nicholas V. Prospero Colonna announced the election to the people, who, in mistake, believed him to be pope. The adherents of the Colonna rejoiced, those of the Orsini armed themselves in fear. Prospero's elevation would inevitably have thrown Rome back into the ancient party strife: the election of a pope indifferent to all tranquillised the city. According to ancient custom the cardinals' palaces were immediately sacked; first Prospero's dwelling, then that of the Cardinal of Capua, lastly that of the actual Pope, where, however, little spoil was to be found.

Nicholas V. Pope, 1447–1455.

The Romans gazed with surprise on the form of

lomini saw four mourners standing, holding fans to flick away the flies, of which there were none in winter, and to create a breeze for the Pope, who was not there.

the little pale withered scholar, with prominent ugly mouth and brilliant black eyes, as, led by the envoys of Germany and other powers, he issued from the Conclave, and mounting a white mule rode to S. Peter's. But they soon had occasion to laud his virtues to the skies.

Thomas Parentucelli was the son of a surgeon in Sarzana, and was born on November 15, 1397. Early deprived of his father, he studied in Lucca and Bologna, acted as tutor in the families of the Strozzi and Albizzi at Florence; then, returning to Bologna, he acquired the favour of the Bishop, and afterwards Cardinal, Nicholas Albergati, whom he served as majordomo for twenty years, and accompanied to Florence when the Curia had its seat there.[1] He formed ties of closest intimacy with the literary circles of this city, whose Maecenas was the great Cosimo de' Medici. Without possessing genius, Parentucelli was distinguished by ready intellect, great command of language, and a memory so retentive that he knew by heart entire works of poets, scholars, and philosophers. Piccolomini said of him that, "What was unknown to Parentucelli lay outside the sphere of human learning," and the knowledge of this, the greatest bookman of the age,

Early career of Nicholas V.

[1] *Vita Nicolai V.* by Manetti, Murat., iii. ii. 908, and by Vespasiano, Murat., xxv.—Giovanni Sforza, *La patria, la famiglia e la giovinezza di Niccolò V.*, Lucca, 1884. His mother, Andreola, after the death of Bartolommeo, married Tommaso Calandrini of Sarzana, and died in 1451. See her gravestone in the Cathedral of Spoleto. Her son by this second marriage was Filippo Calandrini, Cardinal of S. Susanna, who died 1476. (Genealogical trees in Giov. Sforza.)

embraced almost the entire extent of the culture of his time. Supported by Cosimo, for whom he arranged the library in S. Marco, he collected and copied MSS. and books. In 1443, on the death in Siena of his patron Albergati, whom he had accompanied on his embassies to Germany, France, and England, and to the Council of Basle, he entered the service of Landriani. This Cardinal also soon died, and Parentucelli now rose in the Church. Eugenius made him vice-chamberlain, and in 1444 Bishop of Bologna. With Carvajal he entrusted him with the important mission of dissolving the league of electors in Germany. Both legates entered Rome as Cardinals in December 1446. A few months later Parentucelli delivered the funeral oration over Eugenius IV., and himself became his successor. In reverence for Albergati's memory he called himself Nicholas V., and was consecrated and crowned on March 18, 1447.[1]

If in earlier times the papal elections had been the result of ecclesiastical currents or political influences, it was apparently learning that now gave a pontiff to the world. In Nicholas V. Humanism ascended the Chair of Peter, and contemporaries hailed a new era, in which virtue and wisdom rose to power.[2] The elevation of an unpretending

Nicholas V. the first Humanist Pope.

[1] In the coronation procession, Piccolomini, as deacon, carried the cross before the Pope. Soon after, the Concordat having been ratified, the German ambassadors departed.

[2] Piccolomini's account, and Francesco Barbaro's beautiful letter of congratulation (Ep. xciii. of the same): *Beatum enim, scripsit Plato, futurum orbem terrarum, cum aut sapientes regnare, aut reges sapere cepissent.*

scholar to the Papacy was an event. Nicholas himself said to his friend Vespasiano, the Florentine bookseller: "It will disturb the pride of many that a priest who was only good for ringing bells has been made pope, and could the Florentines have believed it?"[1] Study of papers and books had made him pale and delicate, but not morose. His unimposing figure had nothing of the dignity of Eugenius; but the Tuscan, tortured by gout, was full of Attic wit, was easily roused and easily soothed. He was an enemy to all ceremonial, accessible to every one, a simple man, incapable of dissimulation.[2]

Ambassadors of princes and cities came to congratulate the new Pope. He replied to their addresses with the skill of a sophist. Florence sent its noblest men, Piero Medici, son of Cosimo, Gianozzo Manetti, Neri Caponi, Agnolo Acciajoli, who made a magnificent entry, accompanied by one hundred and twenty horsemen. In order to do honour to the republic of Florence and to Cosimo, Nicholas accorded them a ceremonious audience, as were they the representatives of a great power. The speech of Manetti, with whom he had long been on friendly terms, lasted an hour and a quarter; the Pope was apparently asleep, but replied to this product of oratorical art as accurately as had he himself framed it. At this period, when

[1] Vespasiano, *Vita di Nicol.*, v. p. 42, edit. Mai, *Spicil. Rom.*, i.

[2] The best portrait of him is given by Piccolomini: *Comment. de reb. Basileae gestis*, in Fea Pius II.—*a calumniis vindicatus*, p. 109.

Cicero and Quintilian were recalled to life, oratory was one of the most important arts in Church and State; a brilliant speech might become an event; the biographer of Nicholas V. goes so far as to assert that the oration pronounced by Parentucelli at the funeral of Eugenius decided the cardinals to elect him to the Papacy. The report soon spread abroad that Rome had a Pope who in intellect, learning and liberality was without an equal, and such in truth were the characteristics that won for Nicholas V. the favour of all whom he encountered.

He succeeded to the government of the Church amid favourable conditions. His predecessor had concluded the union with Germany, and had also done much to facilitate the recovery of the State of the Church. Filled with the consciousness of papal authority, but devoid of enthusiasm for purely ecclesiastical affairs, and only anxious to collect books, to rebuild Rome and make her free, the humanistic Pope soothed his conscience by glossing over the sins of the Church. The separate treaty concluded at Vienna on February 17, 1448, ratified the treaties of Eugenius with the Emperor, and, as the Concordat of Aschaffenburg, acquired validity throughout the entire empire, to the great disadvantage of the German Church, in which the reforms already conceded soon became illusory. The schism now expired. Felix V. renounced his tiara on April 7, 1449—the last anti-pope—consoled, according to treaty, with the dignity of titular cardinal of S. Sabina. He died at Geneva on January 7, 1451, and bequeathed to the world one of the most re-

Treaty of Vienna, Feb. 17, 1448.

Abdication of Felix V. April 7, 1449.

markable examples of the changes which fortune or folly can entail on mortals. The shadowy council rendered obedience at Lausanne and dissolved on April 25, 1449. It had fought for eighteen years with formidable energy for the reform of the Church, had first triumphed over the papal authority, then having lost the sympathy of the world owing to a schism, it had continued the struggle with weaker weapons, until it succumbed before the dexterity of the Roman legates, the selfishness of Frederick III., and the indifference of an age not sufficiently mature to understand its object. Aleman, the tragic hero of the Council, died of grief at his episcopal seat of Arles on September 16, 1450, honoured as a saint.

Dissolution of the Council of Basle, April 25, 1449.

Nicholas V. thus saw dispersed the darkest clouds that had gathered over the Vatican. The dreaded power of the Reformation, which from the days of Pisa and Constance had risen against the Gregorian Papacy, had once more been thrust back, and the Papacy, dazzled by its success and revelling in the consciousness of its greatness, hastened onwards towards the change to which the loss of its highest mission, the political condition of Italy and its own restoration urged it. It transformed itself into one of the great Italian powers. And it entered on its most brilliant period as a secular and spiritual principality, on its darkest as a Christian priesthood.

In Rome everything seemed favourable to Nicholas V. He gave a privilegium to the city, which secured her in the possession of her autonomy; the magistracy and the city benefices were

only to be bestowed on Roman citizens; the civic taxes were only to be employed for civic purposes.[1] The Pope devoted his energy to establishing an ordered administration throughout the State of the Church, and his efforts were rapidly rewarded with success. He found the apostolic camera deep in debt, and therefore endeavoured to readjust the system of taxation. From motives of gratitude he made Cosimo of Florence his treasurer.

He gained the barons by clemency. He permitted Palestrina to be rebuilt; the city, with its cathedral, its fortress, and the palace of its lords, rose slowly from the dust.[2] Nicholas even forgave Porcaro his speech on the Capitol and honoured the talents of the demagogue with promotion. With equal magnanimity he treated Valla, the intellectual scorner of the priesthood; recalling him to Rome from his exile, he made the great Latinist a member of the Curia as scriptor.

Nicholas befriends Porcaro and Valla.

Nicholas disarmed even greater enemies. By soothing words he recovered Bologna to the Church; he had long dwelt there and had administered the episcopate of the city. It recognised the papal government on August 24, 1447, but remained autonomous under the rule of a council of sixteen signors, while the papal legate only retained a limited vote in the bestowal of civic offices. The house of Bentivoglio still retained the signory, even after the murder of Annibale by the opposite faction in June 1445; for the Bolognese brought Santi, the young

Bologna returns to the Church

[1] Bull, *Licet et debito*, Rome, May 1, 1447. Theiner, iii. n. 314.

[2] Petrini, *Mem. Pren. ad A.*, 1447, and *Mon.* 56 *sq.*

wool-dresser (who was reputed the bastard of Ercole Bentivoglio), from Florence, and as guardian of Annibale's son made him rector of the city. They never had cause to regret the step, for, contrary to all expectation, Santi's rule proved excellent.[1]

About the same time the long struggle with Sforza was brought to an end, a new career opening before the great warrior. His father-in-law, reduced to straits by the Venetians, induced him to enter his service. In order to raise troops, he sold Jesi, his last town in the Romagna, to the Pope, and at the beginning of August 1447 left Pesaro for Lombardy. On the 13th of the same month Filippo Maria, the last of the Visconti, died. Tormented by envy even in death, Visconti had appointed as his heir not his son-in-law but Alfonso of Naples. Or so at least the party of the Bracceschi in Milan, which adhered to the King, asserted, and the belief that Visconti comforted himself with the thought, that on his death Milan would be reduced to a state of chaotic disorder, completely harmonises with his character.[2]

Death of the last Visconti, Aug. 13, 1447.

Had the German Empire still remained vigorous it would have asserted its claims to this imperial fief. France cast longing glances towards the valley of the Po. She was able to put forward a pretender, Duke Charles, the son of Valentina Visconti and Lewis of Orleans. Venice, however, prepared to attack her neighbour, left without a master, and lastly

[1] *Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 55. Machiavelli, *Stor. Fiorent.*, vi. 10.

[2] *Che volentieri vorrebbe che dopo la sua morte ogni cosa rovinasse.* Corio, v. 538.

Francesco Sforza, husband of the only daughter of the last Visconti, beheld his foremost object close before his eyes. The power and skill by which he reached it were alike admirable. Upon the death of the tyrant the citizens of Milan pronounced the monarchy an abominable infliction.[1] The duchy fell to pieces; the various cities installed popular governments, either joining the republic of Milan or making themselves independent.[1] The idea of a North Italian confederation unfortunately was never realised. As the Venetians now seized Lodi and Piacenza, the Milanese offered Count Sforza, who only possessed Cremona, the post of general in the service of their republic. He eagerly accepted it. He was now legally general of Milan; in reality pretender to the ducal crown. Pavia surrendered to him; he took Piacenza by assault. He defeated the Venetians at Caravaggio on September 15, 1448, and wrung from them an alliance which pledged them to help him in the acquisition of Milan. They broke the alliance and aided the Milanese, who sent their wavering troops under Carlo Gonzaga and the sons of Piccinino against their treacherous general. Anarchy broke out in the city as soon as it was besieged by Sforza. Milan, once so powerful as a republic, had been rendered by tyranny incapable of freedom. After having defended the phantom of its ancient independence through storm and stress for two and a half years, it reverted for ever into servitude. Proclaimed duke, Sforza entered

Milan becomes a republic.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, Feb. 1450

[1] *Fu mirabil concordia—di non altrimente ricusare la signoria di un sol Principe, che una pessima pestilenza. Ibidem.*

into the palace of his father-in-law, first alone on February 26, 1450, then on March 25 with Bianca Visconti. This day gave him the Herculean reward of the heroic military life, which, filled with struggle against all the powers of Italy, he had led since the time that his father had first initiated him into the profession of arms. The throng of people was so great that Sforza and his charger were borne onward in the current, and seated on horseback like a hero, he offered his thanks to heaven in the magnificent cathedral. And thus a condottiere rose to the throne of a prince! The son of the peasant of Cotognola became the founder of a new dynasty. Solely through his name was it distinguished; less fortunate, less enduring than that of the Visconti and guilty of equal crimes, it met an inglorious end in the course of sixty years.[1]

2. The Jubilee of 1450 — Frederick III.'s Journey to Rome — His Marriage to Donna Leonora of Portugal — The last Imperial Coronation in Rome, March 18, 1452 — Degradation of the Empire.

Nicholas V. was well pleased that, with the restoration of the Duchy of Milan, the balance of power in North Italy was equalised and a limit placed to the encroachments of Venice. He would not hear

[1] After 1424 Sforza's life was one unbroken series of military exploits on the stage of Italy. There is nothing now more tedious than the history of these wars in Simoneta and Corio. We are, however, forced to admire the heroic nature of the man.

of war. Artists built, painted and chiselled at his behests. A thousand scriveners made copies for his library; at his commands scholars and poets translated the writings of antiquity and received liberal rewards.

As in 1450, peace reigned throughout Italy. Nicholas, more fortunate than almost any of his predecessors, was able to celebrate the year of jubilee, and to show the world that the Vatican was still the centre of Christianity and the Pope its universal head. The crowd of pilgrims was so great that an eye-witness compared it to a flight of starlings or a swarm of ants. One day two hundred men were either trampled under foot or precipitated into the river at the bridge of S. Angelo.[1] The Roman Camera amassed so many offerings that the finances, crippled by the wars of Eugenius, were restored to prosperity. The Camera was freed from debts; the revenues of the jubilee provided the Pope with means for undertaking vast buildings and re-establishing the ritual with magnificence.[2]

The Jubilee of 1450.

[1] Manetti, *Vita Nicol.*, v. p. 924. Paolo di Ponte records the occurrence on September 18, 1450. Two chapels were erected at the entrance to the bridge to the memory of the victims of the disaster. The eye-witness, Angelo de Tummulillis (*Notabilia Tempor. ed Corvisieri*, Rome, 1890), exaggerates the daily throng of pilgrims to three million.

[2] Manetti speaks of *fere infinitam argenti et auri copiam.* Nicholas caused gold pieces to be struck as *Jubilaei* to commemorate the solemnity. In the Bank of the Medici alone he deposited 100,000 gold florins. Vespasiano. The Florentine Giov. Rucellai has given an account of this jubilee (*Arch. d. Società Romana*, 1881, iv. 563 f.), and has therein also given a cursory description of Rome. He says that 1022 inns were kept busy. He estimates the offerings at the

The pestilence in Rome.

The pestilence, which had broken out as early as 1449, and had then driven Nicholas to Umbria, now attacked Rome and other Italian cities with renewed vigour, in consequence of the vast throngs of pilgrims. Nicholas V. again escaped to Fabriano, and here shut himself up so carefully, that to approach his dwelling nearer than seven miles was forbidden under penalty of death. Only a few cardinals were permitted to accompany him; the members of the Curia and the copyists, whom he took with him, were obliged to remain satisfied with the meanest accommodation.[1]

On his return the Pope, filled with forebodings of an early death, proceeded energetically to the fulfilment of his schemes. Palaces and churches rose at his command; the walls of the city, S. Angelo and the Vatican were refortified. The expulsion of Eugenius served as a warning. The priesthood, being unable to take shelter behind the strongest of all fortresses, surrounded itself with the weakest of all means of defence, with walls and towers. The Pope was also driven to fortify Rome and the Vatican, in fear of the approaching imperial coronation, to which Eugenius IV. had previously consented. Nicholas also confirmed the obligations

altar of S. Paul's only at 1500 ducats, while in the year 1400, they were said to have amounted to 60,000. The statistics of the pilgrims in 1450 are unfortunately missing. For particulars concerning this jubilee, see Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste im Zeitalt. der Ren.*, i. 323 f.

[1] The Procurator of the Teutonic order accompanied the Pope; see his pitiful description of the condition of the members of the Curia during this flight, in Voigt's *Stimmen aus Rom.*, p. 160.—Vespasiano, p. 284.

entered into at Vienna, among which was the payment of a sum of 100,000 gold florins, the price of the honour of Germany, a sum which Frederick III. unblushingly pocketed.

The King wished to celebrate in Rome at the same time his coronation and his marriage with the sister of Alfonso of Portugal. His ambassador Piccolomini having concluded the betrothal at Naples, in December 1450 (the King of Naples was the bride's uncle), Frederick's plenipotentiaries went to Lisbon in March 1451 to receive the young Donna Leonora and escort her to the Tuscan port of Telamone.[1] Piccolomini, already Bishop of Siena, came to Rome to obtain the consent to the coronation, and, in conformity with the Concordat, to demand that a Council should be held in Germany. To the satisfaction of the Curia the demand was thwarted by the French ambassador, who requested that a Council should be held in France. The consent of the accommodating Piccolomini was easily won. So also was that of Frederick, who only cared for the pomp of the coronation. In a skilfully worded speech Aeneas Sylvius enlarged on the exalted importance of the imperial crown, which in reality was no longer of any importance, and he implored the Pope, who was the legal source of the imperium, to bestow it on his master.[2]

Piccolomini in Rome as ambassador for Frederick's coronation.

[1] The Court Chaplains Jacob Mötz and Nicol. Lankman of Valkenstein went to Lisbon. Their account is given in Petz, ii. 572, as *Hist. Dispensationis et coronat. Ser. D. Friderici Imp. III. et ejus Augustae D. Leonorae* For further details, see Chmel, *Gesch. Friedr. IV.*, ii. 674 *sq.*

[2] *Cumque Germana nobilitas ex Ap. Sedis beneficentia suaque*

Frederick III.'s journey to Rome.

The last of all imperial progresses to Rome that history has witnessed awakes recollections of a past filled with terrible sufferings, but nevertheless a great past, in which the German emperors devastated Italy with wars, but also combatted the supremacy of the Pope, and frequently decided the most important events of the Christian republic. These times had already degenerated into myth. The imperial authority was now only an international title devoid of power; the papal authority, although robbed of its ancient importance, retained more influence in the great sum total of mankind. A new Europe arose, based on the people's aspirations towards unity of great nationalities and monarchies. The journey to Rome of Frederick III. showed, more clearly than that of Sigismund, that the old Catholic imperium, the ideal of the Middle Ages, had become archaic, a subject for theatrical display and for discourses of academical rhetoric. If the cities of Italy and even the Pope were stirred to excitement by this journey to Rome, the excitement was nevertheless due to little more than the influence of association.[1] For the rest, to the Roman King his journey was a profitable financial transaction; he was enriched by the gifts of Italy, and dispensed a shower of patents of nobility, which vanity

diligentia et humilitate Imperatoriam dignitatem obtinuerit—thus the unprincipled Piccolomini falsified the idea of political law: *Oratio Legati Caesarei pro coronatione Frid. in Müller, Reichs-Tags-Theatrum*, i. 376, and in Pii II., *Orationes*, ed. Mansi, i. 152.

[1] *Italiae potentes trepidare, sperare tenues—timeri motus, quos in adventu Caesarum excitatos viderat. Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 18 (ed. Fkf., 1614).

hastened to purchase. He was not ashamed to implore safe-conducts from the cities, and even the Pope provided him with a regular passport.[1]

The States of the Empire had voted Frederick an escort of 1000 horse, and he was joined by an equal number on his way. He was accompanied by his brother Duke Albert, some German bishops and several nobles, as also by King Ladislaus. He took with him this boy of twelve, the posthumous son of Albert II., the heir to Bohemia, Hungary and Austria, in order to remove him from his hereditary principalities, where the States disputed Frederick's rights of guardianship. He arrived at Treviso at the end of the year 1451. He forbore taking the Iron Crown at Milan, and did not enter Milanese territory, governed as it was by a usurper whom the empire did not recognise. The fortunate Borso of Este received on his knees this phantom of imperial power on the banks of the Po, placed all his property at his disposal, and conducted him in pomp into beautiful Ferrara. There also came Ludovico Gonzaga of Mantua, and Sforza's little son Galeazzo Maria, whom his father had politely sent to greet the King of the Romans. Frederick was received in Bologna by the Cardinal-legate Bessarion. Everywhere the highest honours were paid the Emperor, and he was entertained free of cost. He had courteously begged the Florentines to be allowed to visit their city, and they still more courteously had

Frederick III. in Ferrara.

[1] Safe conduct from the Pope, Rome, December 17, 1415, in Chmel, *Regesta Chronolog.—Diplomatica Friderici IV.*, Appendix, n. 92. Before that, a safe conduct from the Doge Foscari, January 29, 1451.

implored the visit as a favour. The signory on their knees offered the keys of the noble city, and the people, and even women, were everywhere seen kneeling in reverence. With such homage did Italy still honour the phantom of the Latin imperium, that a powerless Habsburger, mistaking custom for reality, might have deemed himself a deified being. The Cardinals Calandrini and Carvajal greeted him in Florence in the name of the Pope. The celebrated chancellor Carlo Marsuppini glorified him in a speech of Ciceronian eloquence, and during his thirteen days' sojourn the Florentines honoured him with such magnificent fêtes that the German squires would have liked to make their permanent abode on the banks of the Arno.[1] Art and learning, beauty of form and refined civilisation prevailed among the Italian people, more especially among the Florentines at this period, and to the Germans they presented an enchanting spectacle of brilliant gaiety, such as no emperor journeying to Rome had ever previously enjoyed.

Festivals in Florence.

From Florence Frederick determined to go to Siena to await his betrothed. For while he had advanced in festal progress towards Rome, the beautiful Portuguese made her tedious bridal voyage across the seas. Amid many tears, which, however, the prospect of becoming empress helped to dry, Donna Leonora left Lisbon on November 12, 1451,

[1] Concerning the entire journey see the accounts in the *Reichs-Tags-Theatrum*, i. 380.—The festivals in Florence cost 20,000 florins; Frederick came with 3000 horses: Rinuccini, *Ricordi storici*, ed. Ajazzi, Flor., 1840, p. 75.

to meet a husband whom she had never seen, whose language she did not understand, and to whom she would remain forever tied in an uncivilised country. She put to sea under the care of the Marquis of Valencia, with an entire fleet armed with 2000 men, who were to protect the jewel of Portugal against greedy corsairs. Encompassed with dangers of every kind, the courageous imperial bride spent 104 days at sea (five would now suffice) without touching any port, Ceuta excepted.[1] Frederick was already in Tuscany, and Piccolomini in Siena, where the popular party rose in tumult. The bishop and envoy of the emperor was obliged to repair to Telamone, and here the bride's escort waited two long months, anxiously gazing out over the grey waves that roar round Cape Argentaro. Donna Leonora at length landed at Leghorn on February 2, 1452, and on the receipt of the joyful news, Frederick ordered his envoy to receive the wearied princess at Pisa and bring her to Siena.

Voyage of Donna Leonora of Portugal.

Outside the Porta Camolia, a column still marks the spot that witnessed the interesting scene on February 24, 1452. For here Frederick III., a man of thirty-five, received the orphan of sixteen from Portugal. Awaited by a magnificent retinue of knights and citizens, and surrounded by her own court, she arrived, and outshone the splendour of the spectacle by the soft lustre of her dark eyes, her

Meeting between Frederick and Leonora at Siena, Feb. 24, 1452.

[1] Eneas Sylv., *Histor. Friderici III.*, p. 65 *sq.*, and Valkenstein's account in Chmel, ii. On November 25 the fleet anchored at Ceuta; on December 6, in the Gulf of Lyons. On February 2 the bride landed at Leghorn.

maidenly blushes, and the fascinating grace of her youth and southern beauty.[1] Frederick in delight clasped her in his arms. Piccolomini has left us an interesting description of the four days' entertainment which Siena, the city of beauty and love, gave in honour of the royal pair. Graceful women ascended tribunes and delivered sonorous discourses or poems extolling the beauty of the bride, or the happiness of love, and danced their national dances on platforms adorned for the occasion, until, offended by the effrontery of the Portuguese, they modestly retired. Piccolomini, bishop and man of the world, and now the confidant of Frederick, seasoned the banquet with his lively wit, but the cardinal legates embittered the entertainments by their arrogant demand that the King should tender the oath of fidelity according to the Clementine formula. After some resistance Frederick consented to this humiliation.[2]

Festivals in Siena.

Nicholas suspected that, on the approach of the Emperor, the Romans would confer the signory of the city upon him, for the ancient imperial ideas had not yet passed away. In his refutation of the Donation of Constantine, a man such as Valla had clearly said: "It is absurd to crown as emperor a

[1] See the description of the accomplished judge of women, Piccolomini, *Hist. Frider.*, p. 68; *August. Dati, Hist. Senens.* (Op., p. 228).—*L'incontro di Federico Imp. con Eleonora di Portogallo in Siena*, by Luigi Fumi e Aless. Lisini, Siena, 1878.

[2] He took the oath according to the ancient formula: *neque vitam, neque membrum—neque honorem—perdet—et in Roma nullum placitum aut ordinationem faciam. . . . Reichst.—Theatr.*, i. 382, and note in Chmel, ii. 704.

prince who has renounced Rome itself; this coronation belongs entirely to the Roman people."[1] Even before the arrival of the bride the Pope had wished to delay the coronation, terrified by speeches which announced that Rome contemplated rebellion, that the potentates of Italy cast longing eyes at the wealth of the clergy, and that Alfonso was in alliance with Frederick, concerning whom a prophecy had foretold that "as emperor he would be an enemy to the Church and an avenger of the city of Rome."[2] An urgent letter from Piccolomini, however, had changed the mind of the Pope. But the walls, S. Angelo and the Capitol were already fortified, and Nicholas now brought a few thousand mercenaries into the city, and appointed thirteen regionary marshals to control them. As early as February 3 he summoned the barons of the Campagna to repair within ten days to the coronation festival.[3]

Frederick's tumultuous reception in Viterbo.

Frederick left Siena on March 1. He was alarmed by a tumult in Viterbo, which originated in an Italian custom permitting the populace to seize the baldacchino and horse used on the entry of a royal personage. This thirst for spoil brought the sacred person and prestige of the Emperor into danger. Some youths with hooks tried to tear down the

[1] *Quid magis contrarium, quam pro Imperatore coronari, qui Romae ipsi renunciasset. . . . Quominus mirum si papa sibi arrogat Caesaris coronationem, quae populi Romani esse deberet?* Valla, *De falso credita—Constantini donat. ap. Schardium de Jurisd.*, p. 774.

[2] *Hist. Frid. III.*, 45. *Comment. Pii II.*, p. 19.

[3] Brief, *Dil. filio nob. viro Honorato Gaytano Sermoneti.* Gaetani Archives, xix. n. 14.

canopy over his head, and papal soldiers attempted to drag his horse from under him. The mob with naïve effrontery even tried to snatch at the crowned hat of the King of the Romans. The successor of Constantine recognised that he was no longer in civilised Tuscany, but in the barbarous patrimony of S. Peter. Snatching a stick from a neighbouring hand, he made himself his own constable and dealt sturdy blows on the populace of Viterbo, while his noble barons followed his example. Not escaping blows himself, he was conducted to his hostelry amid respectful homage.[1]

On his journey through the woods of the Ciminian hill, Frederick promised the Papacy to his companion Piccolomini.[2] With more than 2000 horse he reached Rome on March 8. On the first hill, whence it comes in sight, the procession halted and gazed in admiration on the city, bathed in the glow of evening. Clergy, magistracy and the nobility, headed by the Colonna, came to meet the Emperor elect. He scarcely vouchsafed a greeting to the cardinals, but singled out for special notice the Senator Nicolo de Porcinario of Aquila, a learned fellow-student of Piccolomini, whom, taking off his

Frederick's reception outside Rome, March 8, 1452.

[1] *Hist. Frid. III.*, p. 74. Even now the Italians have not the smallest respect for royalty, being naturally the most democratic of people. Frederick remained at Viterbo from the 3rd till the 6th of March, dwelling in the palace of the Principallo dei Gatti: MS. of Nicola della Tuccia; he calls Donna Eleonora *bella quanto un fiore.*

[2] *Ecce Romam petimus, videre videor te Cardinalem futurum, neque hic tua fortuna conquiescet; altius eveharis, beati Petri te cathedra manet, cave ne me contempseris, ubi hoc honoris assecutus sis. Comment. Pii II.*, p. 20.

beretta, he embraced.[1] Piccolomini could not repress the observation that in earlier times on the approach of the Emperor the Pope had come to meet him, "but every power suffers its vicissitudes; in former times the imperial dignity outshone all others; now is the papal greater than it."[2]

Since, according to custom, the King of the Romans must spend one night at least outside the walls, Frederick remained at the country house of the Florentine banker Spinelli, at the cross of Monte Mario, while Leonora passed the night at another villa. Their retinue encamped on the field of Nero. The entry took place on the following day.[3] In accordance with ancient but now meaningless usage, His entry into Rome. March 9.

[1] Infessura, p. 1133, notes this with republican delight.

[2] *Hist. Frid.*, p. 75. Before his coronation Frederick took his seat in Consistory after actually the oldest of the Cardinals, Francesco Condulmer. *Nam Friderico is locus non ut Imperatori, sed ut Regi Theutonicor. in Imp. electo datus est;* and Piccolomini derides the *Rex Romanor.*, who had not existed since the time of Tarquin.

[3] No imperial coronation has been described in such detail. Infessura, Manetti, *Vita Nicol.*, v., *Histor. Frider.*, iii., *Goswini Mandoctae descriptio introitus Imp. Frid. III. in urb. Rom. et subsecutae coronationis* (the account of this papal singer in Chmel, *Regesta*, n. 98); account in the Chronicle of Speyer given in Mone, *Quellensammlg. der bad. Landesgesch.*, i. 389; account of Columbanus de Poutremalo (Chmel, *Friedr.*, iv. 717): Hodoeporicon, *Friderici III. pro corona imperii adipiscenda*, in Würdtwein, *Subsid. Dipl.*, xii. 10; the same account under the name of Caspar of Enenckl, in Hoheneck, *Genealogie und Beschreib. der obderensischen Städte*, iii. 134. I saw it in the library at Heidelberg as a contemporary manuscript consisting of 45 leaves of parchment.—To the time of this imperial coronation belongs a description of the city of Rome, compiled by Nicol. Muffel, a native of Nuremberg. It refers, however, mainly to the churches. Published by Wilhelm Vogt, *Stuttgart. Liter. Verein*, 1876.

Frederick first swore to respect the liberty of the Romans, then rode to the gate of the fortress, attired in magnificent raiment, the ornaments of which were valued at 200,000 ducats. The Burggrave of Nuremberg carried the banner of the empire, the Marshal Henry of Pappenheim the sword. Donna Leonora was escorted by the Duke of Teschen and the Marquis of Valencia. The clergy and nobility saluted the King at the gate of the fortress. Francesco Orsini, the Prefect of the city, carried the naked sword behind. The suspicious Pope, who had caused streets and squares to be occupied by troops, awaited the royal pair on the steps of S. Peter's, where Frederick and Leonora, dismounting from their horses, bent each one knee to the ground. The King kissed the Pope's foot, hand, and cheek, offered him a lump of gold, swore the required oath, and then entered the cathedral with Nicholas.

At the Pope's desire the coronation was fixed for March 19, the anniversary of his own consecration. Frederick meanwhile dwelt in the Vatican. He visited Rome, however, a proceeding which was considered unseemly, but did not cross the Bridge of S. Angelo. On March 16 Nicholas blessed the marriage of the imperial pair, and crowned Frederick with the iron crown, the place of which was taken by the silver crown of Aachen. The Milanese orators protested, but the Pope explained by a bull, that Frederick, prevented from taking the Lombard crown in Milan, had requested him to bestow it on him in Rome, and that he complied without infringing on the rights of the Archbishop

Frederick III. crowned with the iron crown, March 16.

of Milan.[1] The vain Emperor, who gladly adorned himself with jewels and delighted in pomp, had brought the insignia of Empire with him from Nuremberg, where they had been deposited by Sigismund in 1424.[2] They were still believed to be those of Charles the Great, but Piccolomini observed the Bohemian lion of Charles IV. on the imperial sword, and considered that the imperial robes altogether appeared somewhat shabby.

The last imperial coronation in Rome, March 18, 1452.

This coronation of an Emperor was the last that took place in Rome. On March 19, 1452, the Romans saw the Pope crown, anoint and invest with the sword, sceptre and orb of empire the peace-giving Augustus whom they themselves acclaimed. The Emperor himself may have appeared an object of pity, when they afterwards beheld him bestow the accolade of knighthood on three hundred persons on the Bridge of S. Angelo, for the fatiguing ceremonies lasted more than two hours. Men jeered at these Knights of the Bridge of S. Angelo, who were parodies of extinct chivalry, as was the Emperor of the imperium.[3] After a procession to the Lateran, and the banquet which followed, Frederick returned to the Vatican, where the Pope, still distrusting the

[1] Bull, *Cum charissimus, S. Peter's XVII. Kal. Aprilis A.*, 1452. Chmel, *Regesta*, n. 95.

[2] Martin V. and his successors ratified this translation of the insignia with the bestowal of indulgences, since relics were associated with these jewels. Until 1524 they were annually exhibited at Nuremberg twelve days after Easter: Moser, *Teutsches Staatsrecht*, ii. 423.

[3] According to Zantfliet (Martene, *Ampl. Coll.*, v. 478) there were 281 knights. There were also an immense number of diplomas for Counts Palatine: on April 23 for Lor. Valla, on the 25th for Paul Barbo.

intentions of the Romans, wished the Emperor to remain beside him. On March 19 Nicholas announced the imperial coronation in the language of a feudal lord, who concedes a diploma of nobility.[1]

On the 24th Frederick journeyed to the festivals that awaited him at Naples,[2] and here was consummated the marriage with Leonora.[3] On April 22 the Emperor returned to Rome. Of the colloquies which he held with the Pope, the only actual results were the pillage of the German Church and the suppression of every movement towards reform. The great speech which Piccolomini made concerning the Turks was only important as a masterpiece of oratory. Frederick's imperial sword, for the diamond ornament of which any Jewish money changer would have given 40,000 ducats,

Piccolomini's speech against the Turks.

[1] Chmel, *Regesta*, n. 96.

[2] He went by Sermoneta, where he was entertained by Onorato Gaetani. Sixtus IV. celebrates the fact in a privilegium, which he bestowed on Gaetani (June 1473, Gaetani Archives, xxxix. 58). The festivals cost Alfonso 150,000 gold florins: Vespasiano, *Vita di Alfonso.*

[3] Nothing can be more ridiculous than the customs of men and times. *Leonoram—nondum cognoverat, quod id operis in Alemanniam referre volebat—Virgo moesta—Alfonsus—orat ut virgini misceatur.* Long resistance on Frederick's side; then *jussit stratum apparari, jacentique sibi Leonoram in ulnas complexusque dari, ac praesente Rege cunctisque procerib. astantib. superduci culcitram. Neque aliud actum est, nisi datum osculum.* Both dressed and arose. Such were the customs of German princes. *Mulieres hispanae arbitratae rem serio geri, cum superduci culcitram viderant, exclamantes indignum fieri facinus.* Alfonso laughed at the ceremony. *Nocte, quae instabat, futurus erat concubitus ex nudis.* The Portuguese women had the bridal bed consecrated by the priest with holy water. But Frederick ordered the bed to be changed, in fear of poison or spells. *Hist. Frid. III.*, 84.

was only a stage property. The autocrat of the world-empire "which had been founded by Romulus, ensured by Julius Caesar, extended by Augustus, ratified by the Saviour" and the Vicar of God, who was enthroned beside him, were, notwithstanding, only the titular representatives of the Christian republic, and scarcely formidable to the grand-sultan, who was prepared to hurl the last Palaeologus from the throne of Constantine, to ascend it as an Islamite Caesar and lay hands on both Europe and Asia.

After Frederick III. had dispensed innumerable diplomas for counts Palatine, doctors, knights, councillors and poets of the court, he left Rome on April 26. On May 18 at Ferrara he created Borso Duke of Modena and Reggio, in return for an annual tribute of 4000 gold florins to the Empire. Like his brother Lionello and the ill-fated Ugo, the lover of Parisina Malatesta, this astute prince was only a bastard of the Margrave Nicolo, a fact which made a certain amount of difficulty in the matter of his elevation. Curiously enough several illegitimate sons ruled in Italy at this period; Borso at Ferrara, Sforza at Milan, Ferrante in Calabria, Sigismund Malatesta in the March. The century of humanistic learning, when individual character broke down the ancient legal barriers, was the golden age for bastards, and even sons of popes soon aspired to the crowns of princes.

Frederick III. leaves Rome, April 26.

After assisting at magnificent fêtes in Venice, Frederick III. returned from the most enjoyable of all visits to Rome, with a title that gave him precedence over every worldly dignitary. After having

sold the liberties of the German Church and betrayed the hopes of Germany concerning reform, in exchange for the paltry favours of Rome and the doubtful support of the Pope against the States of the Empire, the dull-witted prince sealed the alliance of Habsburg with the Papacy, and bequeathed this Catholic and fatal policy to his successors. The Italians despised him. Antonino, Bishop of Florence, could not discover in Frederick a trace of imperial majesty, but only thirst for money; not a trace of royal magnanimity nor wisdom. Like a dumb man, he conversed only through interpreters.[1] Poggio called him the imperial puppet, and Frederick in truth was nothing more than a lay figure decked with gold and jewels, belonging to an age now fortunately at an end. He would, however, have been able with more equanimity to endure the contempt which his majesty awoke in Italy as well as in the German Empire could he have foreseen that his and Leonora's great-grandson should place the imperial power on a new foundation, that threatened the world with a tyranny such as that of the Caesars. For the beautiful Portuguese became the mother of Maximilian, the great-grandmother of Charles V. and the ancestress of a long line of emperors and princes.

The Italians regard the majesty of Frederick III. with contempt.

[1] S. Antonino, *Chron. III.*, Tit. xxii. c. 12.

3. CONSPIRACY AND END OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453—FEELING IN ROME—COMPLAINTS AND DISTRUST OF POPE NICHOLAS V.—CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE SULTAN MOHAMMED II.—SUMMONS TO WAR AGAINST THE TURKS—ITALIAN PEACE CONCLUDED AT LODI, 1454—NICHOLAS V.'S FAREWELL TO THE WORLD—HIS DEATH.

While Nicholas V. celebrated nothing but triumphs, he was himself the object of a conspiracy that threatened both life and throne. The consequences of Vitelleschi's and Scarampo's reign of terror were still felt in the city. Here, on the ruins of communal liberty, the Papacy now established its permanent dominion, and the thought was intolerable to many Romans. Noble patriots, more especially noble youths—(unfortunately too frequently steeped in the vices produced by idleness)—whose unemployed faculties ran to waste under a theocratic government, considered the rule of priests degrading. Classic literature fired the brain with the ancient ideals of liberty. Foremost among these patriots was Stefano Porcaro, the enthusiastic Humanist, who wished to restore the republic on the Capitol. By the bestowal of a high office on the restless knight, Nicholas had striven to gain his adhesion. In 1448 he made him Rector of the Campagna and Maritima.[1] Porcaro filled the office for a year in Ferentino, then returned to Rome, where he re-appeared as demagogue at the Agon-

[1] De Rossi, *Gli Statuti del comune di Anticoli . . . con un atto inedito di S. Porcari* (*Studi e doc. di storia e diritto*, ii. 1881).

alian games in 1450. Under pretext of an embassy, the magnanimous Pope sent him to Germany, then banished him, though with honour, to Bologna, allowing him a pension of twenty-five gold florins a month. He was, however, to present himself daily before Bessarion, the cardinal legate. But even at Bologna Porcaro's whole thoughts were directed to the overthrow of the papal government. Like Cola di Rienzo, he wished to become the liberator of the city; he was heard declaiming verses of Petrarch, as were he the Saviour of Italy prophesied by the poet.[1] But his plans were ill-timed, for no pope had incurred less blame, or done more for Rome, than Nicholas V., the most liberal of all pontiffs. Nevertheless there were many malcontents in the city. The burghers grumbled at the exclusive rule of the clergy, who had appropriated all the offices in the administration and accumulated vast wealth. The magistrates on the Capitol were no longer elected by the community, but appointed by the Pope. Nicholas V. transformed the city into a papal fortress.

Porcaro as exile at Bologna.

Many exiles and proscribed persons lay in wait for opportunity of revenge and return. From Bologna, Porcaro himself maintained a correspondence with his relations and friends. Battista Sciarra, his nephew, under pretext of a "condotta," even raised mercenaries in the city. Arms were hidden

[1] *Sopra il monte Tarpejo, canzon vedrai*
Un cavalier ch' Italia tutta onora—
Machiavelli (*Stor. Fior.*, vi. 29); this, however, is not related by any other author.

in the houses of Stefano's two wealthy and respected brothers-in-law, namely Angelo di Maso and Giacomo di Lello Cechi; and in the Vatican itself another nephew of the knight, the Canon Niccolo Gallo, had joined the conspiracy.[1] When the revolt seemed at last to be matured, Porcaro, who had feigned illness in order to deceive Bessarion, hurried to Rome on horseback in four days. Here, wearing a gold-embroidered robe and adorned with gold chains, he appeared among the conspirators at a meal given in Angelo's house. In a self-complacent speech, to the framing of which he had devoted several days, he depicted the servitude of the city. "Innocent men were proscribed; Italy was filled with them, Rome was empty of citizens. Here only barbarians were seen; patriots were branded as criminals. A deed must be accomplished that would for ever deliver the city from the yoke of priests."[2] Porcaro, like every other aspiring intellect among his contemporaries, thirsted for fame, but inflamed his fellow-conspirators with the enticing prospects of more substantial rewards than those of immortality. If he himself desired to become a Cola di Rienzo, his adherents preferred to emulate the example of Catiline. They wished

Porcaro comes secretly to Rome.

[1] *Angelus de Maso qui fil. Martini P. V. dicebatur. . . . Mscr. Vatican*, 3619, p. 2, which contains the *Dial. de conjuratione Stefani de Porcariis*, a pamphlet of Petrus Godes de Vicenza, a contemporary. It has been edited by M. Perlbach from a MS. at Königsberg. Greifswald, 1879. Piero de Ghodi was judge of appeal of the Roman people.

[2] *Velle enim — re id agere, ut in aeternum intra haec moenia— capitis rasi dentes vereri non oporteret:* Alberti, p. 310.

to overthrow the theocratic state and to annex the profits accruing from its fall. From the treasuries of the Pope, the Cardinals and members of the Curia, and the banks of money-changers, they hoped to reap at least a million gold florins. Papal Rome was already sufficiently luxurious. The clergy were corrupt and unpopular. The Cardinals lived like secular princes, and were so extravagant as to give offence to others besides republicans. The members of the Curia, an innumerable throng of prelates, who looked for and enjoyed benefices, presented to the city a repulsive spectacle of arrogance, avarice and vice. And the satires of the Humanists, of a Poggio, a Valla and a Filelfo, contributed not a little to foster this hatred of the priesthood.

Plan of the conspirators.

Porcaro reviewed his resources; 300 soldiers kept in hiding seemed to him sufficient to overthrow the papal rule. Moreover, he counted on reinforcements from the proscribed and on a popular rising. Nor would it have been by any means impossible to seize Rome, since during the profound peace which reigned in the city there were scarcely any troops beside the police.[1] The intention was to set fire to the Vatican stables on the feast of Epiphany (January 6, 1453), when Porcaro was to seize the Pope and Cardinals and to overpower S. Angelo.

[1] Scarcely 50 men on foot: Godes, *ut supra*. According to his own confession, Porcaro had hoped to have been able to command more than 400 armed men in Rome. *Depositiones* of S. Porcaro from a MS. of Trèves, in L. Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters*, i. (1886), p. 666 *sq.*

If things came to the worst the Pope was to be murdered and the ranks of the priesthood ruthlessly thinned. But if it be true that Porcaro had brought a gold chain, with which to fetter Nicholas V., it is probable that he cherished less bloody designs.[1]

On January 5 a warning from Bessarion reached Rome[2]; and at the same time some of the conspirators revealed their plans to Niccolo degli Amigdani, governor of the city, and the aged Cardinal Capranica, who with the Senator Jacopo Lavagnoli of Verona forthwith led a band of armed men against Porcaro's house. It was barred. Sciarra defended it bravely from the windows, and then, sword in hand, with four companions forced a way through the papal troops and escaped. Instead of valiantly riding through the city and calling on the people to strike for freedom, Porcaro had vanished through a back-door to the dwelling of one of his sisters. The police arrested many of the conspirators in their own houses, and made a search for the knight, on whose head a price was set. He disguised himself and went at night to the palace of Cardinal Latino Orsini, whose magnanimity and protection

The conspiracy is discovered.

[1] Eneas Sylvius, *Europa*, c. 58, in his account of Porcaro makes use of a letter of Stefano Caccia, the Novarese.

[2] Martin Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, Mur., xxii. 1146.— According to a letter of a contemporary, the plan was revealed to Cardinal Trevisani by one of the conspirators (Christophe, *Hist. de la pap. pend. le XV. siècle*, Lyon, 1863, I. App. n. 8). As is conceivable, the accounts vary in details. Besides the authorities mentioned, see a Florentine letter given by Tommasini, *Arch. di Soc. Rom.*, iii. p. 105.

he craved; but Gabadeo, a friend, who had accompanied him thither and had gone in advance to announce the knight, while the latter waited in the street, was taken prisoner by the Cardinal. Porcaro escaped to a second sister in the quarter Regola. Meanwhile on the rack the Cardinal's prisoner had betrayed the knight's hiding-place, and in the morning the unfortunate enthusiast for freedom was dragged from the wooden coffer in which his sister had concealed him,[1] and conducted to S. Angelo.

Porcaro is arrested,

The priesthood was terror-stricken, the Pope beside himself; the proportions of the conspiracy were exaggerated. Under the pangs of torture hopes transformed themselves into confessions of deeds. It was assumed that the Florentines, Sforza, Alfonso, Venice, in short, the powers of Italy, had been initiated into the scheme for the overthrow of the Papacy and the robbery of the clergy. The trial was brought to an end with unusual rapidity. On January 9, three hours before daybreak, the knight was led to execution. He was clothed in black from head to foot. He was hanged in a tower of the fortress.[2] Whether his remains were secretly buried in S. Maria Traspontina, or thrown into the Tiber, is unknown. If, to his acquaintance with the heroes of antiquity, by whose example he

and executed, Jan. 9, 1453.

[1] *Et supra capsa ipsa sedens se posuit soror cum altera muliere:* Godes.—Paolo di Ponte calls the house that of Rienzo de Mons. Sezza.—*Fu pigliato lo detto Messere Stefano in casa di Rienzo di Liello di Madonna Guasca e stava serrato in una cassa.* Infessura.

[2] *A dì 9. del mese predetto di Gennaro di Martedì fù impiccato Messere Stefano Porcaro in Castello in quel torrione, che va alla mano destra; e lo vidi io vestito di nero in giuppetto, e calze nere.* *Ibid.*

had been inspired, the unlucky Porcaro added a knowledge of the history of the city in the remote Middle Ages, he may have comforted himself on his journey with the thought that he fell a martyr to the same cause as Crescentius, and suffered death at the same place. It would indeed have redounded to the fame of his memory had he died bravely fighting like the enemy of Gregory V. and Otto III. His attempt to produce a revolution in Rome was merely a feeble imitation of the great tragedy of Cola di Rienzo, with whose marvellous genius Porcaro was entirely unendowed. Nicholas V. mercilessly ordered the scaffold to be erected. He here showed himself devoid of magnanimity, but his severity is intelligible. The same day nine conspirators were hanged on the Capitol, and were followed by other victims. They were surrendered by the cities to which many had fled, even by Venice; the valiant Battista Sciarra also lost his head in Città di Castello. The Pope was upbraided as cruel, even as faithless. It was said that on the intercession of the Cardinal of Metz he had pardoned the criminal and then given the order for his execution.[1] He caused Porcaro's house to be pulled down; it was not, however, entirely

Execution of other conspirators.

[1] Infessura: on which the Cardinal left Rome in a rage. Domenico Giorgi (*Vita Nicol.*, v. 131) disputes this statement, for the Cardinal did not leave Rome that year. Wine is said to have made the Pope forgetful; forgetful on the next day of an execution that he had commanded to take place! The criminal was Angelo Roncone, accused of treason at Norcia. Infessura and Platina speak of the Pope's regret.—On the other hand, Vespasiano defends his beloved Maecenas against the charge of drunkenness.

destroyed, and was afterwards rebuilt. The Porcari, a family of consideration, inhabited it at the end of the fifteenth century, also in the sixteenth, when it contained many statues and inscriptions.[1]

Opinions held by contemporaries of Stefano Porcaro.

The execution of the Roman knight made a great sensation, for owing to his talents, amiability and distinguished aspect, he had been a conspicuous figure. Many princes and Italian magnates had known and respected him.[2] In Rome itself the adherents of the ancient regime beheld in him the high-minded martyr, in the Pope the cruel tyrant, the oppressor of liberty. Infessura, secretary to the Senate, an eye-witness of Porcaro's execution, in his annals of Rome wrote as follows: "Thus died a man of honour, the friend of the weal and liberty of Rome. Banished without cause from the city, he wished to dedicate his own life to the deliverance of his country from bondage, as he proved by his actions."[3] Porcaro's memory lived in Rome, and was revived as late as 1866, when a remarkable pamphlet repeated his political views and bore his name.[4] For Rome, as we have

[1] A series of ancient inscriptions may still be seen at the fountain in the courtyard, built into the wall.

[2] *Nobilis et elegans, atque animosus, sèd parum prudens:* Manetti, *Vita Nicol.*, p. 943. *Me praestantissimo equiti Romano de Porcariis commenda*, wrote Poggio to Gasparo from Verona, A.D. 1433. Ep. xxxi. in the appendix to the book *de Varietate.*

[3] *Perdette la vita quell' uomo da bene, et amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma*—Paolo di Ponte: *Lo quale era uno delli valenthuomini che fossero in Roma.*—Machiavelli: *e veramente potè essere da qualcuno la intenzione di costui lodata, ma da ciascuno sara sempre il giudicio biasimato.*

[4] *Il Senato di Roma ed il Papa. Romae ex aedib. Maximis,*

frequently remarked, is the only place in the world where the ghosts of the past have failed to find repose.

Opinions of the Humanists and adherents of Nicholas V. concerning Porcaro.

But other opinions were expressed by the partisans of the Pope. Humanists, such as Manetti, Filelfo and Poggio, such as Alberti, Piccolomini and Platina, even Valla, who had so violently attacked the papal power in the time of Eugenius, condemned their friend of former days, because in Nicholas V. they had found a most liberal Maecenas. They stood in his service: they wrote and translated for him; his fall would have been their own. "Did not Rome enjoy peace and prosperity? Were not a thousand blessings poured on the people from the cornucopiae of the Pope? Was Rome drained by taxes for a tyrant like other cities? Was not the rule of the Pope the mildest of all governments? Did not the cities enjoy perfect liberty, so far as liberty was consistent with the laws, and yet did they not still pursue the phantom of the republic in order to exchange the real benefits of the present for shadows of the past?" Such are the reflections expressed in prose and verse on the subject of Porcaro's conspiracy by contemporaries, the courtiers of Nicholas V.[1] The

1886. At the close: *Roma il giorno de' Morti.* Stefano Porcari. This pamphlet demanded the secularisation of Rome with the restoration of the Senate, finally the right of the Roman people to pronounce its union with Italy by means of a plebiscite. Porcaro's conspiracy has been frequently dealt with in recent times. The works concerning it have been collected by Pastor (*Gesch. d. Päpste*, 1886, i. 420 f.); also G. Sanesi, *St. Porcaro e la sua congiura, Studio Stor.*, Pistoja, 1887.

[1] Godes; and *Cod. Vat.*, 3618, a poem entitled *S. D. N. Pont.*

Pope bitterly repeated the same reproaches against the ingratitude of the Romans. For how could he understand that the theory of his adversaries, resting as it did on historic foundations, must always strive to vindicate its right, must always come in conflict with the papal power? The salvation of the independence of Rome, the overthrow of which was lamented by men like Porcaro and Infessura, had become impossible. It fell earlier than the autonomy of the other Italian republics; but for a time the loss of this municipal freedom was compensated by the character of Rome and of the Papacy, by that grandeur peculiar to no other city in the world; for in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Rome all that was monarchic or dynastic is destroyed. It was the universality of the moral relation of Rome to the world, the air of cosmopolitanism that men breathed there, the cosmopolitan idea of the Church, that was reflected in the Papacy, by which Alma Roma fascinated those

Max. Nicol. V. Conformatio Curie Romanae loquentis edita per E. S. Oratorem Joseph B. doctorem. The poet, Joseph Bripius, implores the Pope to show mercy, and his words are worthy of note:

At tua majestas si mortem infligere cunctis
Quippe velit turbata reis: fortasse reorum
Infinitus erit numerus.

He advises him to protect the Vatican with walls, and himself with a body-guard, but he well says:

Consulo item vice Christi pater: sit pre arcibus una
Arx statuenda tibi, nullo expugnabilis unquam
Tempore, civis amor.

A noble candour still existed at this time, even among courtiers. From this poem it is evident that the government of Nicholas V. gave cause for much dissatisfaction.

who dwelt within her, and forced them to acknowledge that nowhere did men find themselves freer from prejudice than in this universal republic.[1]

After January 9, 1453, Nicholas V. was no longer happy. Rome was spoilt for him. Ageing rapidly, tortured by gout, in his suspicion he began to shut himself up, or only went out with an escort. He was already depressed by the remembrance of the conspiracy, when the crushing tidings reached him, that on May 29, 1453, Constantinople had been conquered by Mohammed II., who had made his entry into S. Sophia over the bodies of 50,000 Christians. After an existence of eleven centuries the Greek Empire was blotted out of history and was replaced by the terrible monarchy of the Turks. The shade of the last emperor of Byzantium might have hurled bitter reproaches at the two heads of Catholic Christendom; for what had they done to save Greece, this foremost half of human civilisation? In vain had the unfortunate Constantine filled the West with his appeals for aid. The West was occupied with its own affairs, and incapable of any concerted enterprise. The Roman Emperor dwelt in idleness on his country estates, laid out gardens, and snared birds.[2] The Pope, on the other hand, had only assailed the Byzantine emperor with demands for the maintenance of the union agreed

Fall of Constantinople, May 29, 1453.

[1] The humanist Filelfo, when he lived in Rome in the time of Sixtus IV., had already given expression to this feeling: *incredibilis quaedam hic libertas est*, Ep. lx. 3. *Kal. April* 1475 (in Rosmini, *Vita di Filelfo*).

[2] *Imp. Frid. australis sedit in domo plantans ortos et capiens aviculas, ignavus. Chron. Theodori Engelhusi, apud* Menken, iii. 18.

upon in Florence, by which he was made independent of the help of the West.[1] He was reproached for appearing to attach more importance to the maintenance of a dogma than to that of the Greek Empire. Cardinal Isidore was a spectator of the fall of Constantinople; he escaped, but the last Constantine, more fortunate than the last Romulus Augustulus, closed the long line of the emperors of the East by an honourable death at the hands of an enemy.

The apathy with which princes and peoples looked on the fall of the bulwark of Europe showed that the Christian religion had ceased to be the guiding principle of mankind. The overthrow of Byzantium merely awoke a torrent of European eloquence; bulls of Crusade contended with the rhetorical lamentations of the Humanists, who deplored the loss of the literary treasures of Greece, but who, like Nicholas V., himself hastened to rescue their remains for Italy. Parliaments, schools and pulpits were filled with denunciations of the Turk; the subject became the fashion and occupied the indolence of the West, while in tithes for the war against the Moslems, Emperor, Pope and princes found as welcome a means of increasing their finances as their forefathers had found in the tithes for the Crusades.

Nicholas, who had hitherto merely looked on

[1] Letter of Nicholas V. to Constantine Palaeologus, October 11, 1451. Raynald, n. i. He had, however, sent an Italian fleet of twenty-nine vessels to his aid. It arrived a day after the fall of the city of Euboea.

while the rival powers weakened one another, and, refraining from embroiling himself with any, had preserved the State of the Church from war, now surveyed the condition of Italy.[1] The usurpation of Milan kept the powers at strife. Sforza was in alliance with the Florentines; Venice with Alfonso. In order to rouse an ancient enemy against Venice, Florence, already harassed by Neapolitan troops, had summoned René into Lombardy, where he formed an alliance with Sforza. The Pope, who had sent Carvajal to the combatants in 1454, persuaded them to send deputies to a congress in Rome, which should effect the tranquillisation of Italy, in order that its united armies might be turned against the Turks. But the exertions of the Italian envoys were crowned with no success, Nicholas showing such indifference, that after a sojourn of some months they reluctantly left Rome. The fervid zeal of Fra Simonetto, an Augustinian monk of Camerino, undertook the work of peace. He went to and fro between Milan and Venice, and, on April 9, 1454, peace between the two powers was concluded at Lodi, by which Sforza was recognised as Duke. The remaining parties were invited to co-operate. Peace was made without the assistance of the Pope, and also without Alfonso's knowledge; even after the Florentines had signed the treaty on August 30, the King refused his consent. The envoys of the three reconciled powers consequently

Peace conference of the Italian powers in Rome, 1454.

[1] *Hoc unum operabatur, ut singulis gratificaretur ac nemini suspectus haberetur.* Manetti, p. 943. Even this panegyrist admits that Nicholas conducted the negotiations *tepide, ne dicam frigide.*

hastened by Rome to Naples, accompanied by the legate Capranica, who persuaded Alfonso to accept the peace on January 26, 1455. He excluded, however, from its conditions his hated enemies Genoa and Malatesta, who had faithlessly deserted him for the Florentines, and Astorre of Faenza. By a fresh treaty the Pope, Alfonso, Florence, Venice, Milan and other princes concluded an alliance for twenty-five years against all foreign powers that might attack Italy. This first national league of the Italians was due to fear of the Turks, who had thrust the maritime republics from their colonies on the Bosphorus, and who might soon make their appearance in the Mediterranean. Nicholas had the satisfaction of seeing this league concluded before his death, which took place on March 24, 1455.[1]

League of Lodi, 1455.

Feeling his end approach, he assembled the Cardinals round his dying bed. He addressed them in a speech. It is possible that the vain Manetti, his biographer, may have adorned with flowers of rhetoric the farewell of his Maecenas to this world; nevertheless it was in perfect accordance with the time that a Humanistic Pope should retire from the stage of history with a speech, in which, like the dying Augustus, he surveyed himself with complacency.[2] If Nicholas V. left some of his shortcomings

Death of Nicholas V., March 24, 1455.

[1] Ratification of the league of Venice, Rome, S. Peter's, February 25, 1455. Theiner, iii. n. 324.

[2] Manetti as a Humanist gives a theatrical turn to the spirit of this speech: *ut hic ultimus ejus actus, tamquam absoluta quaedam totius comoediae perfectio reliquis prioribus tam laudabilibus—operationibus suis—consonasse videatur*, p. 945. A pompous farewell to life.

—such, for instance, as his indifference towards Constantinople and the reform of the Church—to the judgment of God, he might at any rate comfort himself with the thought that he had done little evil and much good. The wealth which he had accumulated had neither been devoted to war nor squandered on nephews. As Pope he had led the simple life of a scholar, and was so far removed from princely arrogance, that in place of armorial bearings he invariably made use of the Keys of Peter. His ambition was directed to one single object, that of glorifying the Papacy by splendid monuments, and of exalting his authority in the domain of intellect, by making it the centre of the world of learning. Thus while its religious nimbus faded in the faith of men, the Papacy was to prove itself the intellectual power of the age. Everything undertaken by Nicholas V. was calculated to exalt the prestige of the Sacred Chair.[1] In the eyes of the Apostles this object would not have been accepted as the Christian ideal, and the Apostles would doubtless have explained to the excellent Pope that he confused the Papacy with the Church, the affairs of the Roman ecclesiastical state with those of the Christian republic. "I have," said the dying man, "so reformed and strengthened the Holy Roman Church, which I found ruined by wars and oppressed with debts, that her schism is destroyed and her cities and castles are recovered. I have built magnificent fortresses

Nicholas V.'s ideal of the Roman Church.

[1] *Ad honor. omnipot. Dei* (a phrase), *ad augendam deinde R. E. auctoritatem, ad amplificandam insuper Ap. Sedis dignitatem* (the main point): Manetti.

for her defence, as, for instance, those in Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Civita Castellana, in Narni, Orvieto, Spoleto and Viterbo. I have adorned her with splendid structures, and have liberally endowed her with beautiful works, with pearls and jewels of the rarest art, with books and draperies, with gold and silver vessels, with valuable sacred vestments. And all these treasures I have collected not through avarice or simony, by gifts or in cupidity ; on the contrary I have practised magnanimous liberality in every way ; in architectural works, in the purchase of countless books, in the ceaseless transcription of Latin and Greek MSS., and in paying the services of learned men. All this I have been able to do, thanks to the divine favour of the Creator and the constant peace that has reigned during my pontificate."

At the time of Julius II. and Leo X. the supposition that a pope should have found it necessary to justify his love of splendour would have excited laughter. Nicholas V. found it necessary to defend it in the eyes of contemporaries of the reforming Council. His farewell is consequently his apology, his justification against the reproaches of men who adhered to ancient beliefs. Surveyed from the highest Christian standpoint, it shows at the same time that the ideals of the Pope were entirely bounded by the horizon of Rome. Under Nicholas V. the Church, that is to say, the Roman Papacy, began to display a splendid ceremonial. If this splendour would have failed to win the approval of S. Jerome or S. Bernard, magnificence in the out-

ward forms of religion was nevertheless necessary to the men of this age, in order that the mind might be elevated by the contemplation of beauty and stateliness. According to the ideas of Nicholas V., the Church had ended her period of struggle and entered on that of her triumph.[1] Encouraged by the spirit of antiquity, she therefore wrapped herself in a mantle of ceremonial magnificence, for sympathy with classic forms developed with increasing strength and assumed an entirely pagan colouring. Beside the coffin of the Pope, in the year 1455, funeral orations were delivered such as would never have been heard in the time of S. Francis, or even in that of Catherine of Siena. "If, as the poet says, immortals might weep for mortals, the Sacred Muses would probably raise aloud a cry of lament over the dreadful death of our Nicholas, for the pillar of literature is broken."[2] The splendid secularisation of the Papacy, in fact, began under Nicholas V., although this noble man was unable to foresee its consequences. It reached its zenith under Leo X. But the popes of the Maecenas-like house of Medici, more voluptuous in their feeling for the Beautiful, with a finer sense for intellectual luxury, possessed neither the scholarly enthusiasm

[1] *Ut adumbratam quamdam triumphantis Ecclesiae in hac nostra Militante imaginem recognoscerent.* Manetti.

[2] *Sacras Musas, divinasque Camoenas in hac tam exsecranda ac tam detestanda Nicolai nostri morte, non immerito lamentaturas putaremus,* &c. Manetti. Filelfo wrote concerning the death of Nicholas V.:

Hunc musae lachrymant, hunc Phoebus luget Apollo,
Qui solis doctis lumen et aura fuit.

(Rosmini, *Vita di Filelfo*, ii. 311.)

nor the grandeur of aims of Parentucelli, the poor protégé of Cosimo.

To historians of the Church we leave the decision whether, in spite of his enthusiasm for the papal ideal, Nicholas V. was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, and whether he even understood the dangers which it incurred. Even Nicholas, who appeared so fortunate, frequently sighed, more especially in his latter days, over his misfortune in becoming Pope. He well recognised the corrupt condition of his surroundings. He himself, as we have seen, found the Papacy already restricted to a narrow sphere of action. He dared not venture on the one great task that remained to him—reform;—reform which in the end the Papacy in self-renunciation would have been obliged to turn against itself. But fortunately for the demands of culture, the Papacy provided Nicholas V.—a man whose mind was steeped in the spirit of antiquity—with the means of carrying his noble ideas into action in more extended circles. During the eight years in which he exercised the liberality of Maecenas on S. Peter's chair, in his inexhaustible generosity he founded many institutions that have exercised beneficent influences in the course of time and that still endure. The figure of this remarkable man consequently appears incomplete in the political and ecclesiastical history of his age, and only receives full justice in the annals of humane culture.

The stone effigy of Nicholas V. rests on a simple sarcophagus in the crypt of the Vatican. By the light of the taper, which he carries, the spectator

gazes with sympathy on the haggard face of the man, round whose mouth the intellectual smile of the rhetorician seems to play, and whose Attic nights were passed in poring over ancient manuscripts. He may decide that the Pope, who so largely contributed to the intellectual liberty of mankind, by bringing to their knowledge the wisdom of Greece and Rome, was a true benefactor of the race.

4. Calixtus III. Pope, 1455—Riots of the Orsini and Count Eversus — Preparations for War against the Turks — Cardinal Scarampo Admiral—Death of Alfonso of Naples—Don Ferrante King, 1458—Calixtus refuses him the Investiture — Nepotism — The Borgia at the Papal Court — Cardinals Don Luis de Mila and Roderigo Borgia—Don Pedro Luis, City Prefect—Death of Calixtus III., 1458—First Reverse of the Borgias.

In the Vatican conclave the papal crown passed over the head of Capranica, to hover for a night over that of Bessarion. Alain of Avignon rose and said: "Shall we give the Latin Church a neophyte and Greek as pope? Bessarion has not yet shaved his beard, and shall he be our head?" The learned Bishop of Nicea was shrewd enough to protest against himself; he gave his vote to the Cardinal of the Quattro Coronati, and on April 28, 1455, the Spaniard was proclaimed as Calixtus III.[1] Calixtus III. Pope, 1455–1458.

[1] On the death of Nicholas V. the Cardinal's College consisted of 20 members; 15 were present, among them Cusa and Estouteville.

Alfonso Borgia, to whom the saintly Vincenzo Ferrero had formerly prophesied the tiara, awaited it with confidence. He was a native of Xativa near Valencia, and in his youth had been professor at Lerida, where the anti-pope Pedro de Luna had made him Canon. He was reputed one of the first jurists of his time. He had entered on his greater career as private secretary to Alfonso of Aragon, and under Martin V. had become Bishop of Valencia, under Eugenius IV. a cardinal in 1444. His life of temperance and dignity, his profound learning, his business capacity and his friendship with King Alfonso established his reputation in the Curia. The Cardinals finally elected him Pope, in the expectation that a veteran of seventy-seven could not long occupy the papal throne.

His coronation festival on April 20 was disturbed by a riot of the Orsini, occasioned by the enmity that existed between Napoleon and Eversus of Anguillara. This Tuscan tyrant was himself an Orsini, grandson of Pandulf, son of Count Dolce and of Baptista Orsini of Nola.[1] He had quarrelled, however, with his cousins on the score of the county of Tagliacozzo. So great was still the power of this family that on the cry of "Orsini," 3000 armed men assembled on Monte Giordano. They determined to force their way into the Lateran, and to give battle to the Count of Anguillara in the midst of

Tumult of the Orsini in Rome.

[1] The brave Pandolfo, clothed in the Franciscan habit, lies in S. Francesco a Ripa, a church which the Anguillara had built for the order in 1229. He died at the age of 100. Camillo Massimi, *Torre Anguillara in Trastevere*, Rome, 1846, p. 10.

the coronation ceremonies of the Holy Father. Messengers of the Pope, however, and Cardinal Latinus (brother of Napoleon) soothed the ire of the Orsini, and the feeble and aged Calixtus, thankful to have been delivered from the fray, was at length able tranquilly to take his seat on the papal throne.

His short reign was devoid of importance. The Vatican resembled an infirmary, where the gouty Pope spent the greater part of his time by candle-light in bed, surrounded by nephews or mendicant monks.[1] He held the splendid tastes of his predecessor in dislike; looked with contempt on the sumptuous buildings lately begun, whose foundations were already falling to decay. He honoured learning only in so far as it was practical; he censured the extravagance of Nicholas V., who had lavished on manuscripts and jewels money that might have been devoted to the war against the Turks.

Calixtus effected a reconciliation in Rome by means of a truce, which was renewed from time to time; for the quarrel between the Orsini and Eversus constantly broke out afresh, while the city itself obeyed the papal government. As in former times, senators were appointed every six months, among whom in May 1445 was Arano Cibò of Genoa, the father of a later pope.

Two passions only filled the soul of Calixtus—the war against the Turks and love of his nephews.

Efforts of Calixtus III. in behalf of the Turkish war.

[1] *Il più del tempo si stava per la vecchiaja nel letto.* Vespasiano, *Vita del Card. Capranica*, p. 191.

Immediately after his election, he had sworn to undertake a crusade against the Moslem as his highest duty, even as Cardinal had pledged himself to it and had ratified the vow in his papal name. War against the infidels was in him a national and Spanish passion. The Papacy, which under Eugenius had been immersed in the labyrinths of Italian politics, under Nicholas in literary tasks, now under Calixtus III., experienced stings of conscience at the fall of Constantinople; and, as in the time of Urban II., saw itself confronted in the East with a historic task, the solution of which would endow it with fresh vitality. "It is the duty of Old Rome," said the pious Bishop Antonino as spokesman of the Florentine republic in the presence of the Pope, "to deliver New Rome," and the speaker reminded Calixtus of Constantine, who in former days had given Rome to the Pope, and of Justinian, who had delivered the city from the Goths.[1]

With indefatigable zeal Calixtus urged on the preparations for the Turkish war. His bulls exhorted the nations to rise in the sacred cause, and swarms of mendicant monks dispersed themselves over Europe preaching the Crusade. Among the Hungarians and the Kumanians Fra Capistrano, a Roman Minorite, strove to revive the magic influence of Peter of Amiens. Nuncios travelled to every court, and agents to every land of Christendom, to raise tithes against the Turks and to sell indulgences. Calixtus himself equipped vessels. He emptied the ecclesiastical treasury, in which Nicholas

[1] Antonino's discourse is given in his *Chronicle*, iii., Tit. 22. c. 16.

V., in spite of all his expensive hobbies, had amassed 200,000 ducats. He sold a number of jewels, and caused the splendid volumes of the Vatican library to be stripped of their gold and silver, sold the most valuable of the tiaras, and even estates of the Church, in order to build vessels in the dockyard of the Ripa Grande. Thus, in the spring of 1456, a papal fleet of sixteen triremes was again able to set sail from Ostia,[1] the command of which was given to the energetic Scarampo. This man, the favourite of Eugenius, was hated by the courtiers of the Borgia party and also by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, and was consequently removed from Rome. On the patriarch and admiral was bestowed the pompous title of legate in Sicily, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the whole of Greece, the Aegean islands and the territories of Asia, but the deeds of this clerical Pompey were limited to a solitary victory over the Turkish fleet at Metelino and the sack of some islands in the Archipelago.

He equips a Roman fleet.

However, the great battle of July 14, 1456, when the Hungarian hero John Hunyadi drove the conqueror of Byzantium from the walls of Belgrade, showed the West that, were the powers of Christendom united, they were still sufficient to force the dreaded Turk back to Asia. That this was not

[1] *Navalia, quod antea inauditum fuerat, Romae constituit; triremes quas plures ad ripam Tiberis in civitate Leonina* (the ancient site of the Navalia) *paravit, et in Turcos misit.* Aen. Sylv., *de Europae statu*, c. 54. Platina. The account of the expenses for the construction of this fleet is still preserved in the Roman State Archives; Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste*, &c., i. 531. Guglielmotti, *Storia della Marina Pontificia*, vol. ii.

done was not the Pope's fault. The princes gave only words. At command of Calixtus, the whole of Christendom resounded three times daily to the sound of bells, but not to the clash of Crusaders' swords. France, in fear of an invasion of the English, refused to take part, and even forbade the publication of the papal bulls. England likewise refused; the Emperor did not stir, and the Germans declared that their country had been already sufficiently drained under pretext of tithes for the Turkish war. King Alfonso spent the tithes in equipping a fleet, but, instead of sending it to the Bosphorus, he directed it against Genoa for the overthrow of his enemy, the Doge, Pietro Campofregoso, and the advantage of his friends, the Adorni. Angry with the republic of Siena for having joined the league of his enemies, Alfonso supported Jacopo Piccinino in his war against this city, while at the same time he furthered the schemes of the condottiere, who, jealous of Sforza's luck, hoped to acquire a principality either in Umbria or Etruria.

The crusade is not carried out.

Strained relations already existed between the Pope and Alfonso on account of the Turkish war. Calixtus had come to Italy with the King, and had risen to power by his means; he now opposed his every aim. He strove to prevent the alliance between Aragon and Sforza, for, in consequence of the peace made between them at Naples, the Duke had betrothed his daughter Hippolyta Maria to Don Alfonso, grandson of the King, and son of Ferrante of Calabria, while in 1456 Leonora of Aragon, Ferrante's daughter, was married to Sforza Maria,

third son of the Duke of Milan. Eugenius and Nicholas had conferred on the King the investiture of Naples, with the rectorate of Benevento and Terracina, and at the same time had legitimised his bastard son Ferrante: Calixtus, however, refused to ratify this son, Alfonso's only heir, in the succession.

Death of Alfonso of Naples, June 27, 1458.

On the death of this celebrated prince on June 27, 1458, Aragon and Sicily devolved on his brother John, and his illegitimate son Don Ferrante ascended the throne of Naples, which his father's valour had won for the house of Aragon. Ambassadors went to Rome to implore recognition for the new King, but Calixtus asserted that Ferrante was not even the natural son of Alfonso, but a substitute, and he claimed Naples as a fief which had reverted to the Holy See.[1] Thus this ancient vassal state of the Church was drawn throughout the fifteenth century into the politics of the Papacy. The popes contemplated annexing it to the State of the Church, and made use of the Kingdom for the exaltation of their families. Their incapacity to retain Naples under their government at length compelled them to allow great foreign powers to gain admission to the country, and thus ruined the independence of Italy. A fresh quarrel for the succession in Naples threatened to reduce Italy to confusion. Charles of Viana, nephew of Alfonso and son of John, King of Navarre, who, according to the will made by Alfonso, should have succeeded to Aragon and Sicily, and John of Anjou, son of René, stood as pretenders to the crown. Duke Sforza exhorted the

Calixtus III. lays claim to Naples.

[1] Bull of July 12, 1458. Raynald, n. 32.

Pope not to disturb the peace of Italy or give foreign powers an opportunity for invasion. The true motives of Calixtus remained unsuspected; he hoped to place the crown of Naples on the head of one of his nephews, and such a scheme was nothing new in the domestic policy of the popes.

Immoderate love of his relations obscured the better qualities of the aged Pope. After his two predecessors had acquired respect for their abstention from nepotism, the Spaniard unfortunately returned to the policy of Martin V. Could he have foreseen that his blind affection for his nephews was to render the hitherto stainless name of his family a synonym for all infamy in the history of the Church, it is probable that he would have banished the sons of his four sisters to the darkest dungeons of Spain.

The nephews of the house of Borgia.

The Borgias of Valencia were a race like that of the Claudii in ancient Rome; almost all constitutionally vigorous, handsome, sensual and high-handed—their coat of arms a bull. They rose to power under Calixtus III. As early as February 20, 1456, in defiance of the Capitulation sworn to at his election, he had conferred the purple on two sons of his sisters, youthful and inexperienced men.[1] One was Luis Juan del Mila, the other Rodrigo Lançol, a young man of twenty-five.[2] The nephews were suddenly proclaimed, and adopted by their weak

[1] Decree of appointment for Rodrigo Borgia, in Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste*, i. 690.

[2] Donna Catalina de Borja, sister of Calixtus, was married to Juan del Mila from Xativa, and was mother of Luis Juan. The other sister, Donna Isabel, married to Don Jofré de Borja, was the mother of D. Pedro Luis, Rodrigo, Donna Juana, Beatrix and Tecla.

uncle, who gave them the name of Borgia. He loaded them with preferment; the incapable Mila was made legate of Bologna, Rodrigo, legate of the Marches, and in 1457 vice-chancellor of the Church.

A third nephew, Don Pedro Luis, Rodrigo's brother, remained a layman, to receive the highest secular honours; he was about a year older than his brother, equally handsome and sensual; he aimed at great things, and was the acknowledged favourite of his uncle, who strove to obtain a crown for the youth, the crown of Naples, of Cyprus, or even of Byzantium. Calixtus made him standard-bearer of the Church, and in August 1457 Prefect of the city.[1] The custom of Otto III.'s time seems to have been revived on this occasion, since the Pope placed the fillet of the Prefect on Don Pedro's head. In virtue of this office he bestowed on his nephew the fortresses, which, since ancient times, had formed the fiefs of the Prefect.[2] He also created him Duke of Spoleto. The elevation of a nephew to the dukedom of a great ecclesiastical territory was unheard of. Capranica courageously raised a protest, but only drew upon himself the hatred of the Borgia. The

Don Pedro Luis Borgia, Prefect of the city.

[1] The Prefect Franc. Orsini died in 1456. (His will, made at Rocca Nerule on October 30, 1453, is preserved in the Orsini Archives, T. 140. n. 32.) Calixtus then appointed Gian Antonio Orsini Count of Tagliacozzo and Alba, and after his death, his nephew. Contelori. Infessura.

[2] On July 31, 1458: Caprarola, Civita Vecchia, Montagnola, Vetralla, Carbognano, Rispampano, Orcla, Tulpha Nova, Gratianello, Monte Romano, Valeriano *et alia quae ad Praefectur. almae Urbis olim spectabant*. Borgia, *Stor. di Benev.*, iii. 356. These fortresses, however, were still held by Securanza and Menelaus, sons of the last Prefect of Vico.

nephews ruled in the Vatican. Their greatest opponent, Scarampo, had been removed to Asiatic waters; their other enemy, Latino Orsini, a man of princely wealth, was obliged to leave Rome, because Prospero Colonna took the part of the Borgia. In the College of Cardinals Barbo and Piccolomini were his adherents. Barbo, a finished courtier who reverenced every ruling power, had been rewarded with the purple in December 1456. Under the influence of the Borgias, Rome suffered a Spanish invasion; for the kinsmen and adherents of the house and adventurers from Spain streamed in crowds to the city. From this time Spanish customs and fashions, even a Spanish accent made their way into Rome.[1] The entire faction of the Borgias was called the "Catalans." Since all military power and all authority over the police lay in their hands, they exercised a despotic authority. Justice was capricious. Robbery and murder went unpunished.[2] The Pope had entrusted S. Angelo and other fortresses to the care of Don Pedro; finally on July 31, 1458, he even bestowed the Vicariate in Benevento and Terracina on this unworthy nephew.[3] Eugenius IV. having

The Borgia all-powerful in Rome.

[1] This was still more the case under Alex. VI. Bembo writes (Prose, 2. Ed., Venice, 1538, p. 16): *Poi che le Spagne a servire il loro Pontefice a Roma i loro popoli mandati haveano, et Valenza il colle Vaticano occupato havea, a nostri huomini et alle nostre donne hoggimai altre voci altri accenti havere in bocca non piaceva, che spagniuoli.*

[2] *E tutto quel tempo che regnao* (Cal. iii.) *mai non fù veduto lo più tristo governo di rubarie—ogni dì homicidii et questioni per Roma, ne si vedevano se non Cataiani.* Paolo di Ponte, *ad A.*, 1458.

[3] Bull, Rome, July 31, 1458. Tribute, a gold goblet. Borgia,

merely consigned the government of these cities to Alfonso for life, they had legally reverted to the Church on the King's death. Don Pedro now rose to greatness, and radiant with youth and fortune, revelling in princely wealth, he was the most magnificent cavalier in Rome.[1]

Death, however, suddenly shattered the ambitious schemes of the Borgias. In the beginning of August the Pope laid himself down to die. The Orsini immediately rose to overthrow the Colonna and the Catalans. Don Pedro, trembling for his life, sold S. Angelo to the Cardinals for the sum of 20,000 ducats, and, on August 5, himself escaped with a few attendants. The Orsini occupied every road by which it was supposed the nephew might escape, and it was solely to the exertions of his brother Rodrigo, and even more to the self-sacrificing friendship of Cardinal Barbo, that he owed his safety. The Cardinal and the proto-notary Giorgio Cesarini escorted him by circuitous paths at night to the Tiber on the other side of the Ponte Molle, where Don Pedro took ship and fled to Civita Vecchia.[2] Here he was attacked by a fatal fever. He died in December in the fortress of this port, and his wealth served to swell the riches of his heir and brother, by whom he had been devotedly loved. Calixtus III. died on August 6, unwept by the Romans, who were

Fall of Don Pedro Borgia.

Death of Calixtus III., Aug. 6, 1458.

ut supra, iii. 386. Nevertheless both cities were held by King Ferrante.

[1] He is called *Splendidissimus Eques* by Caspar Veronenis, *de gestis Pauli II.* Murat., iii. ii. 1035.

[2] Michael Cannesius, *Vita Pauli II.*, p. 1003.

released by his death from the hated yoke of the Catalans. The Orsini raised a shout of joy; the houses of the Borgia were sacked.[1]

5. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini—His Previous Career—Conclave—Pius II. Pope, 1458—Disillusion of the Humanists—The Pope condemns his Past Life—His Scheme for the Reconquest of Constantinople—He summons a Congress of the Princes at Mantua.

The remarkable man who succeeded Calixtus in the pontificate had long been known to the world. There was not a single prince or statesman in Europe, not a bishop or scholar, who personally or by repute was unacquainted with Aeneas Sylvius. His life had indeed been sufficiently active and memorable.

Career of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

He was a descendant of the Piccolomini of Siena, a family which, alongside the Salimbeni and Tolomei, had enjoyed celebrity, but had fallen into decay at the end of the fourteenth century. His father was Sylvius, his mother Vittoria Forteguerra. She had borne eighteen children, and, with the exception of her son Aeneas and her two daughters, Laudomia and Catarina, had seen them all die. Banished with other nobles by the popular party, the Piccolomini dwelt in poverty at Corsignano near Siena, where Aeneas was born on October 19, 1405. Against his

[1] The same day died also the Senator of Rome, *Tommaso Spada intesta* of Rimini, so that the city lost both its heads at the same time. Infessura, p. 1138.

will he studied law in Siena, and afterwards became a pupil of Filelfo and Poggio in Florence. Endowed with conspicuous talents, but without any decided bent, he forsook serious studies to devote himself to poetry.[1] He acquired the humanistic culture of the time, which comprised knowledge of the ancient classics and, as its chief requisite, the mastery of a finished style. His joyous nature fitted him for a *bel-esprit*; he knew nothing of the goading impulse by which great missions reveal themselves to earnest-minded men. Love of pleasure and vanity urged him onwards; he hoped to acquire fame as a poet. Erotic compositions, Latin rhymes, imitations of Catullus, Italian songs, imitations of Petrarch, won for him the undeserved reputation of a poet and the well-merited fame of an intellectual and charming companion.

The accidental sojourn of Capranica in Siena, when flying from Eugenius he hurried to Basle in 1431, was momentous in the fate of the young Siennese, for the Cardinal took Piccolomini as his secretary. The fifteenth century was the golden age of private secretaries; the most accomplished Humanists worked in this capacity in the chanceries of popes, princes and cardinals, where, as seekers for favour, they pursued Fortune amid a labyrinth of intrigues. Piccolomini left Italy a poor but happy

[1] *Natura ad poeticam inclinatiore. Vita Pii II. per Joh. Campanum*, Murat., iii. ii. 967. Concerning the youth of Aeneas, see the letter of Gregor. Lollio in *Ep. Card. Papiensis*, n. 47. The best authorities on the life of Piccolomini are the letters and commentaries of Pius II.

poet, and after many dangers at sea, crossed the St Gothard to Basle, henceforward for twenty-two years to lead a restless and wandering life in Germany.[1] This country, whose cities and vigorous but rude sons still seemed utterly barbarous in the eyes of an Italian, in Piccolomini awoke for the first time the sympathy of a foreigner, and he dedicated some writings to its history and geography. He himself owed his good fortune to Germany, and repaid it, as the Germans afterwards complained, by selling the cause of ecclesiastical reform to Rome.[2]

Piccolomini served several masters in quick succession as secretary, always studying the world and mankind with eager desire for knowledge, and with witty and acute observation jotting down notes of everything that he beheld. Life was his school; to life he owed experience and the foundations of his knowledge to a greater degree than almost any man of his time. But his experiences did not make him a strong character, did not urge him to undertake great deeds or to pursue lofty aims. It developed him instead into a many-sided man and an accomplished Humanist. From Capranica's chancery he passed into the service of the Bishop of Novara, with whom he went to Florence to Eugenius IV. The crafty prelate there became

[1] *Nos qui ex patria juvenis—illuc* (Basle) *migraveramus, et nova tum primum avis ex Senensi gymnasio evolaveramus* . . . so he writes of himself in 1463, a poet even when Pope. Retractation to the University of Cologne. Rayn., *ad A.*, 1463, n. 119.

[2] Thus he became the enemy of the empire which raised him from beggary: *Römische Historia* of Saec. XVI., MS., n. 97, in the Heidelberg Library.

involved in a trial for high treason, from which Aeneas himself only escaped by taking shelter, first in a church and then in Albergati's palace. He followed the cardinal-legate as secretary to Basle and France, and on his affairs even went to England and Scotland. Love of travel urged him still onwards; he wished to visit the Orkneys. In a storm at sea, he vowed that did he reach the Scottish coast, he would make a pilgrimage barefoot in the frost of winter to the nearest chapel, and he paid for the fulfilment of his romantic vow by attacks of gout during the rest of his life.[1]

He left Albergati in order to remain in Basle, and soon made himself conspicuous in the Council, the principles of which, in opposition to the Papacy, he upheld in his *Dialogues*. He became scriptor to the Council, then secretary to the anti-pope, as one of whose envoys he came to Frankfort. Frederick III., to whom he had been introduced by Jacob of Trèves, crowned him there as poet laureate, and gave him a post in the imperial chancery.[2] Hated as an intruder by his colleagues, Piccolomini overcame their envy by his skill and wit, and soon became the confidant of the celebrated chancellor Caspar Schlick. Thus in the chancery of Vienna began the third stage of his career as imperial secretary and diplomatist. Versed in the affairs of

[1] Campanus, *Vita Pii II.*, p. 970. He has himself attractively described his adventures in England and Scotland: *Commentar.* (Frankfort, A.D. 1614).

[2] His diploma as *Poëta Laureatus* is dated from Frankfort on July 27, 1442: Chmel, *Regesta—Frid. IV.*, Appendix, n. 17.

the Empire and the Roman Curia, in which occupations he incessantly strove to acquire benefices that should raise him out of poverty,[1] Piccolomini was not inspired by any ardent longing for virtue, nor was he stirred by the sublime genius of an exalted nature. There was nothing great in him. Endowed with fascinating gifts, this man of brilliant parts possessed no enthusiasms. We cannot even say that he pursued any aim beyond that of his own advantage. He followed many paths without committing any crime, without malice, but without strict conscientiousness, acquiring favour by flattery and pleasant manners, not conquering it in virtue of his strength. His finely-strung nature and an exquisite aesthetic taste preserved him from low vices.

In the service of Frederick III. he fought in defence of German neutrality. Then the rising sun of Eugenius IV. illumined his path, and the influence of Cesarini, who had joined Eugenius, and of Carvajal worked upon his views; he turned apostate not only to the principles of the Council but to those of neutrality.[2] He gradually won Frederick III. to the side of Rome, whither he went himself as Frederick's agent by way of Siena in 1445. His anxious friends entreated him not to appear before the gloomy Pope, who would not forgive him his

[1] His first benefice was in the Tyrolese valley of Sarentana, which he has described. *Comment.*, p. 9. Bishop Leonard of Passau then presented him with the parish of Aspach. *Ibid.*

[2] When Pope he wrote the history of his conversion (Retractation), of which he veiled the worldly motives.

speeches and writings at Basle. He went, trusting to his eloquence. Never, except in ancient Athens, did the goddess of persuasion exercise such power over men as in the age of the Renascence. Piccolomini disarmed Eugenius; he made a prudent retractation of his errors at Basle, and then openly went over to the Roman Pope, who, recognising his useful qualities, appointed him his secretary.[1] Returning to Germany, Piccolomini worked with diplomatic ability as agent of the Roman Curia against the Empire and the electors, until he brought his master's profession of obedience to the dying Eugenius.

He was already a sub-deacon.[2] After long striving to renounce the pleasures of the world, exhaustion and incipient disease facilitated the task. Nicholas V. gave him the bishopric of Trieste in 1447, and the Bishop Aeneas Sylvius published the first revocation of his youthful desires for reform and of his lax and anti-papal writings.[3] He now became a papist with the prospect of the red hat; but in spite of old and friendly relations, Nicholas V. did not

[1] *Die VIII. Julii* 1446 *D. Eneas Silvius Senens. fuit receptus in secretarium S. D. N. PP. et de ipso officio fidelit. exercendo in manib. Rev. P. D. Astorgii dei gra. Arch. Beneven. in Camtus officio locumtenentis solitum prestitit in forma juramentum.* I find it thus registered in the *Lib. Officialium Eugenii PP.* in the State Archives in Rome.

[2] On February 15, 1447, as is registered in the same MS. Liber.

[3] In 1440 he had written his *Dialogues*, a justification of the Council, addressed to the Cologne professors. In 1447 he was back in Cologne, and on August 13 wrote his first *Epistola Retractationis ad Magistr. Jordanum, Rectorem Univ. Scholae Colon.* (Fea, *Pius II. a calumniis vindic.*, p. 1.)

bestow it upon him. Piccolomini, as Frederick's diplomatic agent, still dwelt in Germany, occupied in the affairs of the Empire and Bohemia, and even in those of Milan, which he strove to retain for the empire. In 1450 he became Bishop of Siena. Frederick's journey to Rome gave him an increased importance. Driven by ceaseless longing for his native country, he finally left Germany for Italy in 1455, where he hastened to bring the Emperor's profession of obedience to the new Pope, Calixtus III. The Germans, however, betrayed in the matter of the reform of the Church, always continued to talk of the necessity of limiting the papal authority. On December 18, 1456, Calixtus created Piccolomini Cardinal, in recompense for having induced Alfonso to make peace with Siena, and the fortunate upstart thanked his patron Frederick III. for this promotion.[1] The purple was the hard-won reward of a long, almost feverish career of activity filled with vicissitudes, dangers and exertions, for the most part on foreign soil; exertions more fatiguing and difficult than those overcome by almost any condottiere of Italy. His rewards had hitherto been less than his fame; and even as cardinal priest of S. Sabina, Piccolomini was so poor that with the Borgias he eagerly pursued his search after benefices.

He was at the Baths of Viterbo, where he was accustomed to spend the summer, and was occupied

[1] He acknowledges *me theutonicum magis quam italicum Cardinalem esse.* Rome, December 22, 1457. *Pii II.*, Ep. n. 202, whereupon the Emperor again predicts the Papacy for him, Ep. n. 263.

in writing the history of Bohemia, when summoned to the Conclave in Rome. The worthiest candidate for the Papacy was Capranica, who had been Piccolomini's earliest benefactor; and the noble and aged Cardinal would have been forced to compete with his younger rival for the papal crown had not death (on August 14) spared him the contest. On the 16th eighteen cardinals assembled in the Vatican. The powerful Barbo, the wealthy Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen, a man endowed with French arrogance and conscious of his royal blood, finally the subtle but powerless Piccolomini, were candidates for the tiara. Piccolomini, however, numbered adherents; his talents, his diplomatic career and connection with the Emperor and Empire made him the most distinguished member of the College of Cardinals. He was pointed out as the future Pope. Estouteville counted on being elected; but dread of a French pontiff ruined his chances. The brief struggle between the rival parties was exciting; there being no majority on either side, the method of "*accessus*" was adopted.[1] The Cardinals sat pale and silent; no one ventured to speak the first word, until Rodrigo Borgia rose and said, "I accede to the Cardinal of Siena." His example took effect, and on August 19 the votes centred on Piccolomini, who burst into tears as he realised his unexpected success.

Conclave in the Vatican.

[1] *Sedebant omnes suis in locis taciti, pallidi, et tamquam a Spiritu sancto rapti*—if ambition and envy are signs of the Holy Ghost. *Comment. Pii II.*, 30. For the history of this Conclave, see *Pii II. Creatio in Meuschen, Caeremonialia electionis et coronationis pont. Roman.* Frankfort, 1732.

Pius II. Pope, 1458–1464.

That a man such as Piccolomini became Pope was a novelty due to an entirely new age, since his career had been essentially that of a travelling secretary. He did not issue from a convent; nor had he followed any decided ecclesiastical calling or filled the position of a prince of the Church; he had not belonged to any party, but had led a stirring and diplomatic career. All those humanists and rhetoricians, the "Bohemians" of the fifteenth century, whose ideal of fortune culminated in an episcopal benefice, now saw with delight that a lax poet and writer of their time might rise to the papal throne as well as holy ascetics in the devout Middle Ages. When the literary friends of his past learned that Piccolomini called himself Pius II., they probably inferred that he had chosen the name not because it had been borne by a noble Emperor, but because Virgil had bestowed it on Aeneas.[1] Or were nepotism esteemed a virtue, then assuredly would no name be more frequently met with in the list of popes than that of Pius. Piccolomini himself possessed this failing in a conspicuous degree, but he also cherished genuine devotion towards his parents and his birth-place.

In Nicholas V. humanistic learning occupied the papal throne; in Pius II., the accomplished man of the world, it was ascended by the aesthetic-

[1] Reminiscences of Pius Aeneas probably also played a part. Voigt, *Aeneas Sylv.*, iii. 11.—Massonius, *de Ep. urbis*, p. 353, says Pius II. is worthy of the Virgilian eulogy: *sum pius Aeneas fama super aethera notus.* In his Retractation, Pius, it is true, says: *Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite: illud gentile nomen parentes indidere nascenti, hoc christianum in Apostolatu suscepimus.*

rhetorical genius of a modern and versatile age. Intellect, inspired by the genius of antiquity, appeared in Piccolomini as the perfection of a cultivated and gifted personality. Popes of the past, such as Gregory VII., Alexander III. and Innocent III., seen through the twilight of the Middle Ages, already appeared as mythical figures. By their side the form of a man such as Pius II. appears insignificant and profane, but it is at least a portrait belonging to a world which in every section had already become more humane and liberal than that ruled over by those solitary demi-gods. Saints, it is true, might sigh ; for that mythical ideal of the Middle Ages sank with the awful grandeur of its Christian virtues—frequently enough disfigured by equally great vices—beyond hope of rescue in the current of the new classic and profane time.

The election of Piccolomini satisfied the Romans; he had been beloved as Cardinal and had not belonged to any faction. Rome, which stood in arms, laid them aside. Magistrates and barons held a torch-light procession in honour of the Pope-elect. Every foreign court sent congratulations. The Emperor in particular was delighted. On September 3 Pius II. took possession of the Lateran, when he found himself in danger of suffocation owing to the pressure of the greedy crowd, who strove to seize his horse.

He ascended the Sacred Chair at the age of fifty-three, and already his health was shattered. Tortured by gout, the familiar ailment of the popes,

small and feebly built, already bald, and of pale and aged aspect, his eyes alone revealed the soul within.[1] During six years he wore the tiara; but it is not to the length of his pontificate that Piccolomini's biography owes its interest. The Papacy was still the pinnacle of honour, but no longer that of power. In the fifteenth century neither Hildebrand nor Innocent III. could have moved the world. The popes only watched over the unity of the constitution of the Church, which they retained for a century longer, and jealously defended their apostolic authority, for which they had done battle with the empire, kings, provincial bishops and finally with the Council. The profound corruption in the Church herself, the abuse of her revered gifts, laws and institutions for selfish aims, and the contradiction in which the Decretals placed her with regard to learning—which advanced with rapid strides—and to civil society, all these might possibly have urged a man of apostolic mind to reform the Church both in her head and members. But this genius was not forthcoming. The popes, who at the Council of Constance had pledged themselves to reform, all renounced the task. In the Capitulations to which Pius II. swore at his election, the war against the Turks took the first place; in the second, instead of the oft-repeated phrase concerning the reform of the Church, stood that of the Roman Curia. The Curia as the centre of the universal ecclesiastical administration demanded reform before everything else. Piccolomini was

[1] See his portrait in Campanus, p. 987.

thoroughly acquainted with its corruption, and before he became Pope had given utterance to the opinion: "There is nothing to be obtained from the Roman Curia without money. For even ordination and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are sold." "Forgiveness of sins can only be obtained by purchase." [1]

Pius II. disavows his past.

The literary world expected a great Maecenas in Pius II. Filelfo and his associates promised themselves an Augustan age, but soon turned away in disillusion from a Pope who would have no intercourse with them. Like many men who, having risen to power, turn their backs on their past, Pius II. put literature aside, and among all his acts of apostasy this was the most pardonable. The thought of his earlier life and of the principles which stood at variance with the Papacy still occasionally disquieted him. He would have sacrificed vast wealth to wipe away the remembrance from the world of his doings at Basle, or to destroy some of his writings, more especially his *Dialogues*, the love letters and other productions. Even in 1463 he repeated his "Retractation," in which he likens himself to S. Paul and S. Augustine—"Reject Aeneas," he said, and "retain Pius." [2] This recanta-

[1] *Aen. Sylv. Op.* (Basil, 1551), Ep. 66, p. 539: *Nihil est, quod absque argento Romana Curia dedat. . . .*

[2] *Pudet erroris, poenitet male dictorum scriptorumque, vehementer poenitet; plus scripto quam facto nocuimus. Sed quid agamus? scriptum et semel emissum volat, irrevocabile verbum — utinam latuissent quae sunt edita — nobis placebant scripta nostra, more poëtarum, qui poëmata sua tamquam filios amant—Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite.* Retractation, *In minoribus agentes*, April 26, 1463, in Fea, *Pius II.—vindicatus*, n. 3.

tion, which he addressed to the surly theologians in Cologne, bears no trace of hypocrisy, nor yet the contrition of a repentant devotee. It is the confession, written in elegant and rhetorical style, of a man well acquainted with the world, who solaces himself with the axiom that to err is human. Devout Christians may judge whether S. Paul or S. Augustine would have recognised Piccolomini as their equal, as a hero whom conviction had redeemed from error. There were, however, men of sincere piety as well as pedants, and scoffers, who made Pius suffer for the sins of Aeneas. But was he not the son of the century?[1] The recollection of his past, which, moreover, had not been sullied by any crime, soon vanished in the genial humanism, perhaps in the general depravity of his day, and if ever the errors of youth may be pardoned to age, Pius II. may claim forgiveness. His life as Pope was unspotted. He was temperate, mild, benevolent and indulgent, and was universally beloved.

He avoided all warlike policy. He was not qualified for the part of monarch, even of ruler of the State of the Church. His cultured intellect required a wider horizon. But unless his Papacy were to remain unrecorded in the absence of all tasks of world-historic importance, it was necessary that it should be marked by a great European activity. The deliverance of Constantinople was

The deliverance of

[1] At the Congress of Mantua, the audacious Heimburg, with scathing irony reminded the Pope in a public discourse of the time, when as secretary in the chancery of Vienna he had composed love letters for the youthful Sigismund.

his ideal, and the object was lofty and in harmony with the age; the Greek Bessarion exerted himself with zeal in its behalf. No one will seek in Piccolomini for the religious enthusiasm that had formerly inspired Urban II. or that stirred the simple monk Capistran. Desire for fame, poetic imagination, also, no doubt, religious feeling, and more especially the consciousness of his papal duty, were the motives of his action. He was in earnest in the war with the Turks; he remained faithful to his enthusiasm, for even before he became Cardinal he had spoken at many imperial diets and had written on behalf of the war.

Byzantium the chief aim of Pius II.

As early as October 13, 1458, he invited all the princes of Christendom to Mantua, to discuss the means of undertaking a Crusade. "God," he said, "had appointed him Pope to rescue the Church from her afflictions."[1]

He summons a Congress at Mantua.

But all hindrances to the undertaking must first be removed in Italy. Wiser than Calixtus III., on November 10, 1458, Pius bestowed the investiture on the King of Naples, and Ferrante, in return, pledged himself to restore Benevento and Terracina to the Church at the end of ten years, to pay the tribute which was owing, and to place troops at the disposal of the Pope against any enemy. He was at once crowned at Barletta by Cardinal Latino Orsini. The friendship of Naples cost the Pope that of France, whose envoys raised a protest; but the support of Naples was necessary to the Pope,

[1] Bull, *Romae ap. S. Petr. III. Id. Octob. A. I.*, in Cribelli. *De expeditione in Turcas*, Murat., xxiii. 70.

not only on account of the Turkish war but also for protection against petty tyrants, like Eversus, Malatesta and Piccinino, who kept the State of the Church in perpetual disturbance. Jacopo Piccinino, who was in Ferrante's service, was engaged in making war on Gismondo Malatesta in the Marches at the time when, owing to the death of Calixtus, the Borgias fell from power. Don Pedro Luis had been Duke of Spoleto; and several fortresses in this territory were occupied by his Catalan wardens. Piccinino bought Assisi from the Duke and took other cities by force. Pius II. found himself defenceless and without means, his predecessor having made over to the Borgia many of the ecclesiastical revenues. A large sum must now be raised to overcome Piccinino and to redeem Spoleto, Narni, Soriano, Viterbo, Civita Castellana and even Civita Vecchia from the castellans of the Borgia.[1] Piccinino, goaded by Count Eversus, had defiantly marched to Umbria; Sforza's threatening remonstrances and Ferrante's orders, however, caused him to turn, and finally, on January 2, 1459, he surrendered Assisi and other fortresses to the Pope for 30,000 ducats.[2]

Antonio Colonna, Prefect of the city.

In Rome itself Pius II. formed an alliance with the most powerful of the civic parties, appointing Antonio Colonna, Prince of Salerno and brother of Cardinal Prospero, to be Prefect of the city on

[1] Campanus, p. 975. The *Arx Adriana* is not as Voigt (iii. 122) supposes Adria, but S. Angelo, which the Cardinals had bought from the Borgia. *Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 36.

[2] Simoneta, p. 688.

December 16, 1458.[1] The Romans, and even several cardinals, grumbled at the approaching journey of the Pope to Mantua. They remembered too well the consequences of Eugenius's long exile, and feared its repetition. Pius soothed them by a decree, which commanded that in case of his death anywhere outside the city, the election of a successor should only take place in Rome.[2] He made the barons swear to maintain peace during his absence; he ordered the College of Judges to remain at their posts; the privileges enjoyed by all places in the State of the Church he ratified to their representatives, and conceded them a remission of taxes. He appointed Gianantonio Leoncilli of Spoleto as Senator, the celebrated German philosopher Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, as his spiritual vicar. Entirely possessed by the romantic idea of a Crusade, on January 18, 1459, a few days before his departure, Pius founded a new order of knighthood, that of S. Mary of Bethlehem, to whom he assigned as residence the island of Lemnos, conquered by Cardinal Scarampo. The order, however, never came into being.[3]

[1] Diploma, *dat. Romae ap. S. Petr. A.* 1458. *XVII. Kl. Jan.* Colonna Archives, Brevi, n. 22.

[2] Bull of January 5, 1459. Rayn., n. 1.—*Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 37.

[3] Bull, *Rom. XV. Kl. Febr. A.* 1459. Rayn., n. ii. The Pope assigned several hospitals to the Order, even that of Santo Spirito in Rome.

CHAPTER III.

1 PIUS II. GOES TO MANTUA, JANUARY 1459—CONGRESS AT MANTUA—BULL *EXECRABILIS*, JANUARY 18, 1460—GREGORY OF HEIMBURG—JOHN OF ANJOU, PRETENDER IN NAPLES—TUMULTS IN ROME—THE TIBURZIANI—RETURN OF THE POPE, OCTOBER 7, 1460 — DEFEAT OF TIBURTIUS — WAR AGAINST THE ROMAN BARONS AND PICCININO—WAR AGAINST MALATESTA — ANJOU DEFEATED IN NAPLES — NEPOTISM OF PIUS II.—THE PICCOLOMINI—FALL OF MALATESTA, 1463.

Journey of Pius II. to Mantua, Jan. 1459.

PIUS, with the Cardinals Bessarion, Estouteville, Alain, Calandrini, Barbo, Colonna and Borgia, left Rome on January 22, 1459. The long procession of the Curia set forth on horseback. The peasantry everywhere streamed forth to gaze upon the Pope, who, like no one before him, rode across the open country with but a scanty-armed escort. The travel-loving Piccolomini enjoyed a journey even as Pope; but his pleasure was marred on his arrival at Narni, where the greedy inhabitants rushed upon him, to snatch away the canopy carried over his head. Swords flashed before his eyes, and he may have been reminded of the barbarous scene to which Frederick III. had been exposed when journeying through Viterbo to Rome. Henceforward he travelled in a litter, the bearers of which were

changed every five hundred paces. Thus, reckoning his sojourns in different cities, four long months were spent in the journey from Rome to Mantua.

After a visit to his sister Catarina in Spoleto, and a brief rest in Assisi, Pius II. entered Perugia, riding a white mule. The magistrates of the city carried a purple baldacchino over his head, and he was preceded by twelve white horses, which grooms led by golden bridles. His entry into the capital of Umbria must have furnished a royal spectacle. No pope had been seen in this capital for seventy years. He received the homage of Frederick of Montefeltro, and elected him his general. He remained three weeks in Perugia, then sailed across the Lake of Thrasymene towards Siena. This republic, where the popular party now ruled, looked with suspicion on its fellow-citizen. True, it had allowed the Piccolomini to return, but it feared that Pius might demand the restoration of all the nobility. Siennese envoys had already treated with him in Rome, and had also appeared at Perugia; the Signory requested that he would not come as an enemy to liberty, and would refrain from all interference with the constitution of the city. The burghers armed themselves in distrust. After long negotiations envoys went to meet the Pope at Chiusi and allowed him to enter his ancestral city. But before proceeding to Siena, Pius justified his papal name by a visit to his birthplace Corsignano and to his father's grave. His mother had been buried four years before at Siena. He decided to raise Corsignano to a bishopric and adorn it with palaces.

Pius II. in Perugia.

Foundation of Pienza.

He gave the village the name of Pienza, and its deserted but sumptuous buildings still exist to recall Pius II.'s devotion to his native place.

Pius II. in Siena,

On his entry into Siena, on February 24, a thousand circumstances served to recall a past over which he would gladly have thrown a veil, though he dwelt with pleasure on the joyous days when he escorted Donna Leonora to the Emperor. In the splendid cathedral he addressed a discourse to the people on the greatness of its republic, which in Alexander III. had given a world-renowned Pope to the Church. He presented the Signory with the Golden Rose, but irritated the democratic party by the unwise request for the re-admission of the nobility to offices of state. With some reservations, the popular council agreed to the request. Pius raised Siena to an archbishopric, and made Grosseto, Massa, Chiusi and Soana subject to its authority. Radicofani, which, under the leadership of a Piccolomini, the Siennese had conquered long before, he conferred on the people in perpetuity as a fief of the Church.

in Florence,

Embassies from the Emperor, Spain, Portugal, Burgundy, Bohemia and Hungary came to Siena. Pius begged them to follow him to Florence, which he entered on April 25, solemnly received by the people and escorted by the lords of Rimini, Faenza, Forli and Imola, while Sforza of Milan, the ally of the Florentine republic, sent his eldest son, Galeazzo, and a splendid retinue to greet the Pope. The tyrants of the State of the Church, among them the iniquitous Gismondo Malatesta, with reluctant

submission bore their feudal lord in a litter on their shoulders a part of his way, until he was conducted in solemn procession to S. Maria Novella, where Martin V. and Eugenius IV. had also made their dwelling. Venice excepted, no Italian city was so flourishing at this period as Florence. The head of the republic was still Cosimo, its foremost citizen, and its richest merchant, who governed the markets of Europe, Asia and Africa, a Croesus and at the same time the most sagacious of Italian statesmen. Pius was shown the buildings erected by this Maecenas, the cost of which was estimated at 600,000 gold florins.[1] The astute Medici received him with reserve, and showed reticence in the discussion of Italian affairs. The Pope remained eight days in Florence; spectacles and races between lions and horses were given in his honour. But he had to lament the death, which occurred during his stay, of Archbishop Antonino, a man reverenced as a saint.

If his journey had hitherto resembled a triumphal procession, it was possible that it might lose this festal character when he crossed the Apennines, where ended, if not the geographical territory, at any rate the ruling influence of the Pope. Latium, the Sabina, Spoleto and Tuscany, uncertain possessions of S. Peter though they were, stood at least under the power of Rome, but another territory began on the other side of the Apennines. The Marches and the Romagna, the most distant and disturbed

[1] Campan., p. 976.—*Opes accumulavit, quales vix Cresum possedisse putaverim: Commentar.*, p. 49.

provinces of the ecclesiastical State, had their political poles in Milan and Venice. First stood powerful Bologna, on whose heaven-high towers the word "Liberty" was inscribed. There the legate of the Church possessed not the slightest authority. On the contrary, the Bentivogli ruled under the guardianship of the wise and energetic Santi. By Sforza's advice, even before the Pope left Rome, the Bolognese had invited him to visit their city, but at the same time they sent for ten squadrons of Milanese cavalry. The news of the approach of the Holy Father produced great excitement among the citizens, as were it the approach of a tyrant who would destroy their freedom. Pius himself
in Bologna, hesitated to enter Bologna, until the Milanese troops swore allegiance to him and were placed under the command of the youthful Galeazzo, who had preceded him there. An understanding was arrived at. Pius was received with honour on May 9. The magistrates, kneeling, presented him with the keys of the city, which he handed back to the Anziani; the noblest of the citizens carried his litter, but on looking out to bestow his blessing on the people, he beheld the gloomy palaces surrounded by armed and defiant youths.[1] A garrulous orator, the jurist Bornio, who lamented the anarchic condition of Bologna on the public entry of the Pope, and exhorted him to reform the city, was sentenced to exile.

On May 16, with a lighter heart than he had

[1] *Armata circa optimatum domos juventute, ne quid innovaretur.* Campan., p. 976. *Commentar.*, p. 55.

borne on his arrival, Pius left sinister Bologna and was conducted to a vessel on the Po. Thence on May 18, Borso Duke of Modena escorted him to Ferrara, which the Duke held in fief from the Church. The city was filled with people, who had come for miles to witness the festivals, for Borso wished to celebrate the visit of his guest with games and every species of pompous spectacle. But his hope of being repaid for his vast outlay by a remission of the tribute, which was due, and by the title of Duke of Ferrara, remained unfulfilled. With murmurs he accompanied the Pope along the Po, on which beautifully decorated gondolas bore them, to Mantuan territory. He promised to come to Mantua itself later, but he never appeared.

in Ferrara.

Pius finally reached it on May 27, 1459. The highly-cultured Ludovico Gonzaga, son of Giovanni Francesco of military renown, whom Sigismund had raised to the rank of Margrave, reigned over the ancient city of Virgil. Kneeling at the gate, he presented the Pope with the keys of the city, which he placed at the pontiff's disposal, and conducted him in triumphal procession to his residence. This castle, surrounded with gloomy towers, already rivalled that of Urbino, before Ludovico's successors enlarged it into the greatest princely fortress in Italy.

Pius II. enters Mantua, May 27, 1459.

The parliament of Mantua forms an epoch in the history of Europe. It is the first actual congress of powers assembled for a common purpose. Since the Turkish war was still regarded as a crusade, the Pope held himself justified not only in summoning

the Congress, but also in acting as its president. So low had the prestige of imperial supremacy fallen, that no one disputed his right, and the Emperor calmly relinquished the guidance of a European question to the Pope. Doubtless he foresaw its fruitlessness. Pius found himself deceived in his expectations, for Mantua was empty of ambassadors; the powers of Europe, even of Italy, either sent no representatives at all, or only sent them very late. Ferrante's investiture proved an obstacle to the plans of the Pope, creating as it did political parties, which from henceforth decided the fortunes of Italy. The King of France represented the claims of the House of Anjou, and Venice and Florence leaned towards France. While the Orleans raised a claim to Milan, Sforza was obliged to uphold the cause of Ferrante. He formed an alliance with Pius II. After having sent his wife and his five children, among them Galeazzo Maria and the sixteen years old Hippolyta, in advance to Mantua, he himself arrived there in September 1459.[1]

Proceedings at the Congress of Mantua.

Envoys from Thomas Palaeologus, who was reduced to desperate straits in the Peloponnesus, and other envoys from Epirus, Lesbos, Cyprus and Rhodes, brought the cries for aid from the last remnant of the Byzantine empire before the throne of the Pope, and Pius opened the sittings of the

[1] Campan., 976. The beautiful Hippolyta, afterwards wife of Alfonso II. of Naples, delivered an elegant Latin discourse to the Pope, which was continued by her brother. Filelfo, the *musa attica*, as Pius called him, afterwards delivered a speech on behalf of Sforza.

Congress on September 26. His speech against the Turks was applauded as a piece of Ciceronian eloquence, but it did not evoke from his hearers the cry of "Deus lo vult," with which the simple utterances of Urban II. had once been answered at Clermont. On the part of the College of Cardinals Bessarion followed with a long speech. The sittings were wasted in brilliant discourses or in painful controversies, until the Pope at length compiled the results of his efforts in the bull of January 15, 1460, in which was announced a three years' war of the European powers against the Turk, beginning from the 1st April, and which decreed that tithes for the purpose were to be levied alike on Jews and Christians. The Standard-bearer of the Crusade was to be the Emperor Frederick III., and in this case history could never have beheld a greater caricature of the first and second Fredericks. The former secretary of the Chancery at Vienna dared to appoint the head of the empire as Captain General of the Crusade. He sent Bessarion as legate to him; the Cardinal in vain exhausted his eloquence in presence of the Emperor and the States of the Empire, but returned to Italy without having succeeded in his mission.

The bull "Execrabilis," Jan. 18, 1460.

The Pope closed the Congress after having issued a bull on January 18, in which he proclaimed that henceforward any appeal to a Council, from whomsoever it might issue, was to be regarded as heresy and high treason.[1] The bull "Execrabilis" was the

[1] Bull, *Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus inauditus—Comment.*, p. 91, and *Bullar. Rom.*, i. 290.

most astounding document produced by this Congress. In the eyes of the Papists it might appear as its true purpose. It cancelled the work of Constance and Basle; it secured the papal monarchy against the overwhelming deluge of councils, which, since the extinction of the mediaeval Papacy, had flowed with ever greater force against it. Appeal to a Council was the most formidable of all weapons, not only of hostile princes but of nations anxious for reform, and Pius II. now flattered himself with the thought that he had shattered this weapon for ever and had for ever saved the papal supremacy. On the publication of the bull, men must have observed that it was promulgated by the same Piccolomini as Pope, who at Basle had been so zealous a champion of the authority of the Council. In the prohibition of appeal to an ecclesiastical Council, he now prohibited the reform of the Church, since it was solely by means of a Council that reform could have been forced upon a pope. Pius II. had only been induced to issue the decree of Mantua by the attitude of the French ambassadors, from whom he required the renunciation of the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges and who threatened to appeal to a Council. Duke Sigmund of Tyrol, at bitter warfare with Cardinal Cusa on account of the bishopric of Brixen, which the Cardinal had usurped, uttered a like threat. Pius soon learnt that his bull was treated with contempt. Gregory of Heimburg, the astute adviser of Sigmund, one of the most robust intellects in Germany and a precursor of the Reformation, appealed to a Council, and on October 18,

Gregory of Heimburg.

1460, the Pope consequently placed him under the ban.[1] The quarrel between Sigmund and Cusa revived on a smaller scale the contest between Lewis of Bavaria and the Papacy. In Heimburg it produced a combatant, who fought for the doctrines of Marsilius with equal intrepidity and more than equal intellect. The dispute belongs to German history, where it is woven into the already perceptible web of the Reformation, and we notice it solely on account of the audacious bull "Execrabilis," to which the spirit of reform made answer through the mouth of Heimburg.[2]

Pius left Mantua at the end of January 1460 in order to go to Siena, which he entered on the 31st. He was ill and utterly discouraged by the political obstacles that hindered him. England, Spain and Germany were filled with dynastic strife; war had, moreover, broken out in Naples. From hatred of Don Ferrante and ancient devotion to the house of Anjou, many barons stood in arms. Gianantonio Orsini of Taranto, Marino Marzano, Prince of Sessa, the Marquis of Cotrone summoned the boyish son of René from Genoa, where he was regent for Charles VII. of France, the Genoese re-

Pius II. in Siena.

[1] Freher, i. 124.

[2] Freher, *ut supra: Gregorii Heimbach appellatio a Papa variis modis ad Concilium futurum*, &c. Heimburg calls the Pope's decrees cobweb, and himself a chattering magpie, *qui praeter verbositatem nihil habet in se virtutis.—Irretiat ipse—eos quos servili metu constrictos habet: mecum erit, Deo duce, libertas Diogenis et Catonis.* His attacks on the Pope, with whom he had been well acquainted in Germany, are as blunt as Luther's speeches. See Brockhaus, *Gregor von Heimburg*, Leipzig, 1861.

public, harassed by Alfonso, having placed itself under the protection of the French King in 1458. John of Lorraine-Anjou did not allow himself to be daunted by the long list of unlucky pretenders to the throne of Naples that had been furnished by his house, but appeared off Neapolitan coasts as early as October 1459 with a fleet, which had been originally equipped in Marseilles for the Crusade. The majority of the barons at once declared in his favour. Ferrante soon found himself restricted to Naples and Campania. The growing power of Anjou was strengthened by Piccinino in the spring of 1460, while Gismondo Malatesta, from whom the Pope in Mantua had but just obtained peace from Ferrante, broke faith and rose in arms. The King now sought salvation in the aid of Sforza and the Pope; both sent him troops, but he lost the battle of Sarno on July 7, 1460, and soon after Piccinino defeated the papal leaders Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino near S. Fabbiano in the Abruzzi.

War of pretenders to the crown of Naples.

Pius II. was still in Siennese territory, partly occupied in building Pienza, partly in seeking the benefit of his health at the baths of Macereto and Petriolo. It was at this time that Rodrigo Borgia excited the Pope's indignation by his sensual life. In a garden at Siena the Vice-Chancellor gave banquets to beautiful women, whose husbands were not invited. Pius wrote him a severe letter, the first document relating to the private life of the future Alexander VI.[1]

[1] Petriolo, June 11, 1460. Rayn., n. 31. *Saltatum ibi est, ut accepimus, cum omni licentia: nullis illecebris amatoriis parsum,*

Ever sadder news arrived from Rome. The absence of the Curia had produced a condition of such entire lawlessness that the darkest days of the city seemed to have been revived. The impression made by the inhabitants even on cultivated Italians is shown by the description drawn of them by Campanus, the Court poet of Pius II. He had come filled with longing to the city, and in bitter disillusion wrote to his friend Matteo Ubaldo as follows: "The inhabitants resemble barbarians more than Romans; they are offensive to behold, speak various dialects, are undisciplined and of boorish education. No wonder; from the entire world people crowd to the city as to a preserve of slavery. But few of the citizens have retained the stamp of ancient nobility. For they despise the glory of arms, the greatness of empire, simplicity of manners and integrity as something antiquated and foreign, and are steeped in luxury and effeminacy, in poverty, arrogance and unbridled sensuality. The foreigners in Rome are merely a swarm of serfs; among them are cooks, sausage makers, panders and jesters. Such men now occupy the Capitol. They pollute with every vice the honoured statues of the Catuli, the Scipios and the Caesars, whose places they fill. Is there any man who, recalling the glorious deeds of the Roman people, senate and

tuque etiam inter haec omnia non secus versatus, quam si unus esses ex secularium juvenum turba. Borgia was then twenty-nine years old. The letter is shown as authentic in the Vatican Archives: *Henri de l'Epinois, le Pape Alex. VI.*, in the *Revue des quest. histor.*, 1881, vol. xxix. p. 367.

army, does not deplore their contemptible life and the fickleness of fortune, when he sees the squalor into which these splendid images have fallen, while the houses of the celebrated Romans, generals and emperors are now in possession of murderers, cooks and panders; and their inscriptions, if not utterly obliterated by neglect, contempt or age, are covered with the smoke of cook-shops and indescribable filth?"[1]

The picture is malicious and exaggerated, but nevertheless contains some element of truth, and it allows us to perceive the elements out of which the rule of the Borgia developed. Campanus was himself servant to a priest, consequently we are not surprised when in the same letter he says: "All merit is found among the priests, whom either birth or genius have raised to the priesthood." He then adds with effrontery: "These it is who make of Rome that which not the energy of Romulus but the holiness of Numa should have made of it. But all cannot be priests."

The condition of Rome at this time confirms the truth, that liberty alone ennobles a people; that despotism is the true source of demoralisation. We have seen the political life of the Romans sink into a state of ever-increasing decay, until it completely expired under the popes of the restoration. In Porcaro the democratic movement had already been degraded to aims such as those of Catiline; in Tiburtius and Valerianus, the heroes of 1460, it sank

[1] *Campanus Ep. ad Met. Ubaldum* (printed in A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria—del Medio Evo*, i. 54).

to the level of a bandit enterprise. The fate of these unfortunate brothers was allied by terrible associations to that of Porcaro, for their father Angelo de Maso and their eldest brother had suffered death at the hands of the executioner as participators in his guilt. The youths were instigated by thirst for revenge and love of liberty. Incapable of forming a political party, they assembled their companions in order to fill Rome with terror. Their band consisted of about 300 defiant youths, among them sons of respected houses, such as the Specchi, Renzi and Rossi, who in arms paraded the city day and night. The Governor was forced to leave his house in the Campo di Fiori and fly to the Vatican.[1] His flight made the rebels more audacious. Citizens were seized and obliged to pay a ransom. Women were violated; maidens who resisted were drowned; the houses of the opposite party were sacked. On March 30 the Pope wrote to the Conservators that deeds such as these were an insult to himself; the astounded world would say that he was no longer master over the Roman people, and he could not understand how the magistrates tolerated such excesses on the part of the sons of the Romans; he was told that they were committed in order to compel his return; but he would even call away the members of the Curia whom he had left behind.[2] The Roman authorities remained powerless. Car-

The bands of Tiburtius and Valerianus in Rome.

Terrible condition of Rome.

[1] *Regiam in atrio Pompeji domum*, says Pius II. *Comment.*, p. 106. The palace of the Governor stood at that time in the district where the Cancellaria now stands.

[2] *Datum Senis* 30 *martii A.* 2, in *Vitale*, p. 441.

dinal Cusa had left the city long before; the Senator was Francesco degli Aringhieri of Siena.

Piccinino and the barons in alliance with the Tiburziani.

The party of Tiburtius had allies in the Campagna; the Colonna, Savelli and Eversus being able to use them as their instruments. On the outbreak of war in Naples, these barons became once more active; they took sides with Anjou and entered into correspondence with Piccinino and Malatesta. Polombara near Tivoli, where Jacopo Savelli was baron, served the rebels as an asylum whenever they found themselves insecure in Rome. On May 16 a Roman youth committed an outrage on a girl, who was on the eve of marriage, and the police brought him to the Capitol. The rabble of Tiburtius from Palombara immediately forced their way into the city; they carried off as hostage a companion of the Senator, first to a tower of S. Maria del Popolo, then to the Pantheon.[1] For nine days the robbers lay entrenched in this Church, sacking the surrounding quarter. No one ventured to touch them; the authorities held parley; the prisoner was surrendered, and, laughing, he married the girl whom he had violated. But notwithstanding, the followers of Tiburtius gave battle to the police and committed a thousand excesses. These disorders were only rendered possible by the fact that a great number of the people hated the papal rule and were aggrieved not only by the absence of Pius II., but also by his sympathy with the Neapolitan war. He had made his nephew Antonio captain of the troops which he was to send to the aid of King Ferrante, and at the

[1] Infessura, p. 1138. Paolo di Ponte. *Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 106.

same time had entrusted him with the task of restoring peace to Rome. He came with a troop of cavalry, but effected nothing. The rebels entrenched themselves first in a tower near S. Lorenzo, in Lucina, then in the Capranica Palace. They held orgies here by day and sallied forth to plunder at night. Tiburtius was their King. Finally the Roman nobles induced him to depart. The young avenger of blood proudly walked through the city between the Conservator and the Proto-notary Giorgio Cesarini, accompanied by the people to the gate, whence he and his companions retired to Palombara.[1]

Pius II.'s return to Rome.

It was only with reluctance that Pius II. decided to return. He was induced to do so by the discovery of a conspiracy, by the terms of which the Prince of Tarento, Count Eversus, the Roman barons and Tiburtius had resolved to summon the condottiere Piccinino to Rome. Piccinino had left the Abruzzi with the intention of marching against the city; at the same time Malatesta seized some towns in the Marches, and the Count of Anguillara occupied places in the Patrimony. Pius quitted Siena on September 10, 1460. The Roman envoys Antonio Caffarelli and Andrea Santa Croce, celebrated jurists of the University, appeared in Viterbo. They told him that the city awaited him with impatience and that he ought to forgive the excesses of youth. "What city," replied the Pope, "enjoys

[1] The historian of the city is obliged to descend to these particulars, which have been minutely described by Pius II. They were always symptoms of the diseased state of enslaved Rome.

greater freedom than Rome? You pay no tribute, you bear no burthens, you fill the most honourable offices, you sell your wine and corn at what price you please, and your houses bring you ample rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? a count, margrave, duke, king or emperor? No, a greater than these; the Roman Pope, the successor of Peter, the representative of Christ. He it is who endows you with glory and prosperity and supplies you with the wealth of the whole world."[1]

It was announced that Piccinino drew near, and the cardinals advised the Pope to remain in Viterbo until the approach of Federigo of Urbino and Alessandro Sforza, as the Romans might easily open the gates to Piccinino. Pius explained that he must hasten to Rome before the condottiere's arrival, otherwise Rome and Naples would be lost. Duke Sforza in particular urged the return of the Pope, and sent 500 cavalry to Viterbo. Pius advanced slowly by way of Nepi, Campagnano and Formello to Rome. Nowhere along the route did he find any preparation for his reception. He was obliged to buy the necessary supplies of wine and bread. The Governor and the Senator found the Pope dining beside a shady fountain, a repast which, as a lover of nature, he enjoyed.[2] The conservators came to meet him at the sixth milestone; they brought with them

[1] *Commentar.*, p. 114. This speech cites the same arguments as those given in the *Cod. Vat.*, n. 3618, on the occasion of Porcaro's conspiracy.

[2] Pius frequently gave audiences to ambassadors in the open air. He calls himself *Silvarum amator*; and his Court poet Campanus plays in like manner on his name of Silvius. *Comment.*, p. 217.

a troop of young Romans, who were to carry the Pope's litter, and these refractory youths were for the most part associates of Tiburtius, a circumstance which Pius was obliged to condone. His entry into Rome after an absence of nearly two years was dismal enough, although he was received with honours by the people. He passed the night at S. Maria del Popolo, and then entered the Vatican on October 7, 1460.

Piccinino in the neighbourhood of Rome.

He found Rome in the worst humour, for Piccinino had advanced to Rieti and sent troops to Palombara. These troops, in conjunction with those of the barons, devastated the Sabina, sacked the estates of the Orsini and menaced the farms of the Romans with fresh destruction.[1] In a discourse of two hours, held before the Popular Council, Pius defended his Neapolitan policy; and having been reproached with his love for the Siennese, he assured his hearers of his patriotism, and even deduced from his name, Aeneas Sylvius, the assumption that his family was of Roman origin.[2] If his eloquence failed to convince the Romans of the justice of his policy, his presence at least tranquillised the city. That it remained faithful to him was owing perhaps more to luck than to the inactivity of his enemies. Of few popes can it be said to their honour that they paid so little heed to military affairs as Pius II. He left the State of the Church almost defenceless; he took no thought

[1] The produce of these farms was reckoned at this time at 700,000 ducats.

[2] Speech to the Quirites in *Pii II. Orationes Politicae et Ecclesiasticae.* Ed. Mansi, *Lucae*, 1755, ii. n. vii.

for the fortresses; as for troops, he only raised such as seemed indispensable to Ferrante's needs. He returned to Rome with a small force of cavalry, and abandoned the protection of the city to the burghers. Piccinino was fortunately not sufficiently strong to attack it; he feared the movements of Federigo, Alessandro and Cardinal Forteguerra in his rear. His attempt on Tivoli also failed.

In vain Tiburtius summoned Piccinino to come and put an end to the hated rule of priests in Rome. His own foolhardiness soon worked his ruin. On October 29, Bonanno Specchio had ventured into the city, where he fell into the hands of the police at the Colosseum. Tiburtius with fourteen companions hereupon forced his way into the city to effect the release of his friend. They seized a Siennese, carried him off with them, and called on the people to strike for freedom. "It is too late," answered the citizens. The senator Ludovico Petroni and the Pope's major-domo Alessandro Mirabelli with a body of troops pursued the audacious youths. Tiburtius, with five of his companions, was captured in a bed of reeds; they were led in fetters to the Capitol. Papal adherents jeered at Tiburtius on the way, as tribune and restorer of the republic. Put to the torture, he admitted that soothsayers had prophesied the fall of the priestly dominion, and that it had been his intention to deliver his native country from servitude to the priests, whose yoke was ignominious to the Romans. He had therefore formed alliance with Piccinino; they intended to sack the city, especially the palaces

of the cardinals, the dwelling of Scarampo in particular.[1] Tiburtius showed a nobler spirit in death than in his ill-starred life. He asked for nothing but a speedy execution. The Pope forbade his being tortured, and on October 31 the prisoner, like his father, was hanged on the Capitol. His fate was shared by Bonanno Specchio, Cola Rossi and two other youths.[2] In March 1461 justice also overtook eleven Romans, who had carried on their predatory expeditions from Palombara.[3] Such was the melancholy issue of Porcaro's conspiracy, which was intended to deliver Rome from the rule of the priests.

Execution of Tiburtius.

Pius now hoped to persuade Jacopo Savelli to yield submission, but the refractory baron refused the proffered conditions, and was consequently placed under the ban. The Pope urgently begged aid from Florence and Milan. During the winter Alessandro Sforza and Federigo at length delivered him from the proximity of Piccinino, who returned to the Abruzzi. Pius had already been placed in possession of Terracina. Ferrante had previously obtained possession of this city in fief for ten years, but, more especially after his defeat on the Sarno, a papal faction had arisen within it. It appealed to the protection of the Church, and Pius II. caused Terracina to be occupied by his nephew Antonio before the Count of Fundi could forestall him.

Pius II. occupies Terracina.

[1] *Commentar. Pii II.*, 119.—Ep. 50, *Jacobi Card. Pap.*

[2] *Furono tutti appiccati in Campidoglio a quegli archi di Palazzo nella Loggia:* Infessura.

[3] *Ibidem*, and Raph. Volaterranus, *Commentar. urban.*, Murat., xxiii. 883, enumerates twenty-five men executed on the Capitol.

True, the proceeding excited the ire of both Ferrante and Sforza. The Pope, however, retained this key to Campania; on October 21, 1460, he ratified the inhabitants in their autonomy and bestowed many privileges upon them.[1]

The Roman Campagna makes submission to the Pope.

In the following year Federigo of Urbino, general of the Church, subjugated the whole of the Sabina to the Pope. In July 1461 Savelli in Palombara also made submission.[2] Pius spared him out of consideration for those Roman nobles to whom Savelli was related by marriage; he only deprived him of seven fortresses, leaving him in possession of the remainder. From this time the celebrated house of Savelli fell from bad to worse; of all its estates in Sabina it soon retained only Aspra and Palombara.[3]

Pius, accompanied by Federigo, could now proceed to Tivoli, where he spent the summer, built a fortress, and passed his leisure in composing his description of Asia.[4] Even as Pope nothing gave him so much

[1] Contatore, *Hist. Terracin.*, p. 119. The city was to nominate three candidates for the office of Podestà, two as civic judges, of whom one was ratified by the Rector of the Campagna. The Jews were allowed to dwell under the protection of the Commune: *quod propter necessitatem pecuniarum opus est, ut Cives—ad Judaeos confugiant.* —Terracina had surrendered to King Alfonso in 1441.

[2] Baldi, *Vita di Federigo d'Urbino*, Rome, 1824, ii. 158.

[3] *Aspra—a loci asperitate, unde nomen habet, defensum—Comment. Pii II.*, p. 273. More probably it is the ancient Casperia.—Palombara, for a short time occupied by the Orsini, came under the direct authority of the Church as early as the beginning of Saec. XVI.

[4] Of the ancient Tibur and the Villa of Hadrian, scarcely anything more remained than at the present day. *Vetustas omnia deformavit, quos picti tapetes et intexta auro aulea muros texere, nunc hedera vestit. Comment.*, p. 138. He dwelt with the Minorites.

pleasure as a sojourn in the country. Never did he appear in a more attractive light than when enjoying himself as a poet and antiquary, wandering in Latium, Ostia, Tivoli, or the Alban mountains. In the summer he visited Etruria and the Campagna, lingering with delight in the ancient towns founded by Saturnus, the history and condition of which he described. These territories which Pius II., Virgil in hand, visited at his leisure had never been traversed by earlier popes, save at the head of armies or in hurried flight.

War with Gismondo Malatesta.

His tranquillity was only disturbed by the war with Gismondo and that in Naples. The bastard son of Pandolfo Malatesta was a tyrant in the full sense of the word—wicked, handsome, brave and eloquent, versed in humanistic studies and an atheist.[1] Pius II. had hurled excommunications against both him and Astorre Manfredi of Faenza, a form of curse which recalled the darkest times of the Middle Ages, and appears all the more offensive when uttered by one of the most educated of popes.[2] The vigorous tyrant utterly routed the papal captains at Castel Lione on July 2, 1461, and continued the war for two years longer.

Pius was more fortunate in the affairs of Naples, whence, in alliance with Milan, he succeeded in

[1] *Sacerdotes odio habuit, de venturo saeculo nihil credidit et animas perire cum corpore existimavit. Commentar. Pii II.*, p. 51. He built the beautiful Church of S. Francesco at Rimini, and consecrated a vault in it to his mistress, with the inscription: *Divae Isottae Sacrum*, which may still be read.

[2] Sigismund was burnt in effigy in front of S. Peter's, and Pius considered the figure a speaking likeness. *Comment.*, p. 184.

ousting the French. As early as March 1461 Genoa shook off her yoke, and made Prospero Adorno Doge. The fleets of France and of René besieged the liberated city in vain. After having lost a battle, René returned discouraged to Provence. John, his youthful son, met the like fate at Naples. Ferrante, to whom Pius II. sent troops in the spring of 1461, with the aid of brigand-like auxiliaries from Albani led by Scanderbeg Castriota, suddenly became master of this province. He repaid the papal help by the bestowal of valuable fiefs on Antonio, the son of Laudomia and the Siennese Nanni Todeschini. Pius II. was led by nepotism to aggrandise his insignificant nephew; and Naples —at all times the Eldorado of the fortunes of papal families—provided the necessary means.

Ferrante becomes Master of Naples.

In 1461 Ferrante first made this Antonio Duke of Sessa, then Chief Justice of the kingdom, afterwards Duke of Amalfi; he also gave him the hand of his natural daughter Maria of Aragon in marriage. Still greater luck awaited the nephew on the defeat of John of Anjou. Deserted by his allies the barons, and finally also by Piccinino, the son of René escaped to Ischia and thence to Provence in the summer of 1463. Pius, whose arms had in no wise contributed to this success, claimed in the name of the Church the fair duchy of Sora, which was held in fief by Pietro Cantelmi, the Pope having resolved to bestow it on his nephew. Federigo of Urbino and Napoleon Orsini first conquered the fortress of Isola, whereupon Arpino and Sora yielded submission. Pietro made peace with the Pope, to whom he surrendered

Antonio Piccolomini enriched with fiefs in the kingdom of Naples.

all these places. Pontecorvo, which Alfonso had previously taken from Eugenius IV., also submitted to the Papacy.[1] Not satisfied with these acquisitions, Pius, taking a dishonourable advantage of a domestic quarrel between Countess Cobella and her son Ruggiero, also laid claim to Celano on the Lago Fucino. Ferrante hotly disputed his demands, but held it prudent to yield, and Antonio Piccolomini, invested with the Marsian county of Celano, became vassal to the Crown of Naples.

The Piccolomini nephews.

Even in Pius II. we see how irresistible were the attractions of nepotism to the popes. Of the four sons of Laudomia, he had made Antonio duke, Francesco cardinal, Andrea lord of Castiglione della Pescaja, Giacomo lord of Monte Marciano. Niccolo Forteguerra, who on his mother's side was also related to the Pope, and who speedily won renown by his deeds of arms, became a cardinal; Giacomo Tolomei, who was hated in Rome, was made castellan of S. Angelo; Alessandro Mirabelli Piccolomini, who with Ambrogio Spannochi had a bank in Rome, was invested with the office of master of the household and was made rector of Frascati. The Siennese Jacopo Ammanati, adopted like so many others into the family of the Pope, received the bishopric of Pavia and the red hat.[2] The most intimate confidant of the Pope was his secretary

[1] *Commentar.*, lib. xii., at the beginning. *Praeter jus fasque* the Pope seized all these places, as Simoneta, p. 727, says.

[2] *Seb. Pauli Disquisizione istorica della patria e compendio della vita di Giac. Ammanati Piccol.*, Lucca, 1712. The Cardinal was born in 1422 and died in 1479; his grave is in S. Agostino.

Gregorio Lolli, son of his aunt Bartolomea. Countless Siennese were provided with offices; Siena, it might be said, flourished in Rome, whither it seemed to have emigrated.[1] Even S. Catherine owed to Pius II. her promotion to the heaven of the saints. Had he succeeded in taking Greece from the Turks, a Piccolomini would have reigned as despot in Hellas. Pius, however, did not enrich his nephews at the expense of the State of the Church, and even after the subjugation of Malatesta gave proof of his discretion in this matter.

Gismondo, successfully opposed by Federigo of Urbino and Forteguerra, and defeated at Mandolfo on August 13, 1462, appealed to the Venetians to act as intercessors. The Venetians, in possession of Ravenna, defended the tyrant, not wishing to see the Church powerful on the Adriatic. Pius saw through the views of the republic, which had bought Cervia—important on account of its salt-marshes—from Domenico Malatesta Novello in May 1463. He firmly rejected its intercession, but gave ear to its remonstrances after Federigo of Urbino had conquered Fano and Sinigaglia. For the Venetians were now engaged in laying siege to Trieste, of which Pius had formerly been bishop. Pius deprived Gismondo of all his cities except Rimini, for which he had to pay tribute; to Gismondo's brother the Pope left Cesena and Bertinoro; but even these, the last cities which remained to the Malatesta, were to revert to the Church on this

The Malatesta make submission to the Church, Oct. 1463.

[1] Siennese were elected Senators; in 1460, Francesco Aringhieri and Lud. Petroni; in 1463, Nicolo de Severinis.

brother's death.[1] The treaty of October 1463 destroyed the power of the celebrated Guelf house of Verucchio, and the papal monarchy thus cleared a way for itself in Guelf territories. Fortune favoured Pius; this Pope, who abhorred war, overcame all his enemies, conquered their lands and enlarged the State of the Church. Two generals aided him in the task; the celebrated Federigo and the brave Cardinal Forteguerra. From Monte Cavo, the highest peak of the Alban range, he once gazed with satisfaction down on the vast ecclesiastical state below. From this enchanting height the eye sweeps over the entire breadth of the fertile plain, which stretches from Terracina to Cape Argentaro, a territory which, if it contained naught beyond *Alma Roma*, would make its possessor the equal of emperors.[2]

[1] Campanus, p. 978. Baldi, *Vita de Feder. III. lib.* 7. *Sugenheim*, p. 337. Pius himself has dedicated a great part of lib. x. of his commentaries to the house of Malatesta.

[2] He sat there and surveyed the view in May 1463: *et maritimam contemplatus plagam a Terracina usque ad Argentarium montem omne littus Ecclesiae metatus est oculis.* We almost expect to hear him exclaim with joy, like Polycrates: All this is subject to me.—*Comment.*, lib. xi. 309.

2. Fall of Athens, 1458—Pius II. exhorts the Sultan to become a Christian—The last Palaeologi—The despot Thomas brings the head of S. Andrew to Italy—Solemn entry of the Relic into Rome, April 1462—Discovery by John de Castro of the Alum-beds at Tolfa—Pius II. resolves to head a Crusade against the Turks—Bull of Crusade of October 22, 1463—The Pope's Journey to Ancona—He Dies there, August 15, 1464.

The disorder which reigned in Italy delayed the war against the Turks. Pius, however, did not lose sight of his great object, but continued to exhort princes and peoples in its favour, while his legate Carvajal was active in Austria and Hungary. Europe abandoned the war to the young and heroic son of Hunyadi, Mathias Corvinus, the Charles Martel of the East. He defended the Danubian territories with difficulty, while Servia and Bosnia, Trebizond, Morea and several islands in the Archipelago fell under the power of Mohammed II., and Rhodes, Cyprus, and also Caffa, the Genoese colony, narrowly escaped. As early as 1458 the banner of Islam was erected on the Acropolis of Athens, the ancient Capitol of the civilisation of the world. The great Sultan secured his rule on the Bosphorus, the Greek imperium became transformed into the Turkish empire, and from this hour European policy was confronted in the Turkish question with a new problem, which first terrified and then perplexed it.

Conquests of the Turks in Asia Minor and Morea.

Pius cherished a curious hope—the conversion of

the dreaded conqueror to Christianity. Had it been realised, history would have beheld the rise of a second Roman Empire in the East; for as the Western Empire had formerly been transferred to the Frankish dynasty, so would the Greek imperium now have been translated to a new line of monarchs, and after baptism Mohammed II. would have been recognised as Emperor of the Greeks. It was said that Mohammed, born of a Christian mother, had leanings towards the Gospel of Christ. Pius wrote him a letter or long treatise. In this memorable document, probably the one of all his writings that sprang most directly from his heart, the Pope exhorts the Sultan to change his religion. Did Mohammed II. become a Christian, no prince would equal him in power and fame; he would hold the Greek Empire not as a usurper but as lawful Emperor; the Golden Age would dawn for the fortunate world. To the Sultan, who was utterly ignorant of the history of the West, the Pope cited the example of pagan kings, such as Constantine, Clovis, Reccared and Agilolf, and in more recent times that of Ladislaus of Lithuania, who had become great Christian princes. He showed him that the Turkish arms were powerless to conquer Italy, which was filled with great cities, and proved that not under the laws of the Prophet but under the Gospel of Christ were peace and unity possible. He expounded the dogmas of Christianity with theological erudition.[1]

Letter of Pius II. to the Sultan Mohammed.

[1] *Nos te Graecor. et Orientis Imp. appellabimus, et quod modo—cum iniuria tenes, possidebis iure.—Redirent Augusti tempora, et quae*

In our days, when the Empire of Mohammed II. has already sunk to the conditions in which Byzantium found itself under the last Palaeologus, and when from the background the Slav Colossus puts forward claims to the heritage of the Greeks, this letter awakens lively sympathy. In it Pius rises once more to the height of the imperial theories of Virgil and Dante. But he would have made more impression on the Grand Turk, if, instead of a missionary discourse, he had sent a fleet to the Bosphorus, and an army of 200,000 crusaders across the Danube. Supposing Mohammed II. had condescended to allow the papal dithyrambs to be translated into the language of the Osmanli, the descendant of Osman must have listened with a smile of satisfaction to the visionary enthusiasm of the Bishop of Christendom. He had himself given a new historic form to the struggle between Europe and Asia, a struggle as old as the Trojan epic, and had carried into execution the schemes of Xerxes and Darius. He might hope to see the Crescent erected on the pinnacles of S. Peter's. Such hope, however, was vain. Besides the Austrian provinces which rose at the propitious moment, the bulwark of Europe against the Asian Empire was Western culture itself, against which, as Pius II. justly foresaw, the Koran remained powerless.

Rome swarmed with real and pretended envoys of the East, who offered alliances with Asiatic Khans,

poëtae vocant, aurea secula renovarentur. The letter probably belongs to the year 1461, to which Raynald (n. 44) assigns it; see also the Milan edition of the letters of Pius II., n. 7.

and Pius hoped to form a new European league. In order to inflame the world with enthusiasm, he showed it the head of an apostle, which had come to Rome, the most revered of all fugitives from the Turks. According to legend, Andrew, brother of Peter, had been crucified in Patras, and while his body was carried to Amalfi, his head remained behind. When the Turks invaded the Morea in 1460, the last Palaeologi, Demetrius and Thomas, brothers of the last Constantine, still reigned over the ruins of Hellenic cities. Demetrius apostatised, Thomas escaped to Navarino, which belonged to the Venetians. He then came to Corfu, bearing with him, as his last remaining treasure, a skull, which was now the symbol of the Empire of Constantine and Justinian, and of the Church of Origen and Photius. The princes of Europe, who did not trouble themselves about Byzantium, stretched forth eager hands to seize the fabulous head of the Apostle; many wished to buy it, but Thomas only gave ear to the Pope. He landed at Ancona in the winter of 1460, and there gave the head to Cardinal Oliva, who, at command of the Pope, deposited it in the fortress of Narni.[1] The unfortunate despot of Morea hastened to Rome in Lent to throw himself at the feet of the Pope. To console him for the loss of an empire, Pius gave him the Golden Rose, a dwelling in the Hospital of S. Spirito, a yearly income and a bull, in which he promised indulgence to all who accompanied him to the reconquest of the Morea. The last successor of Constantine, who in former days

The head of S. Andrew.

[1] *Comment. Pii II.*, p. 192 *sq.*

Death of the despot Thomas Palaeologus in Rome, 1465.

had presented Rome and the entire West to Pope Sylvester, died in this hospital in Rome on May 12, 1465.[1] Henceforward the city became the asylum of numerous fugitives from the East. In the autumn of 1461 Queen Carlotta of Cyprus, wife of Ludovico of Savoy, also landed at Ostia, seeking protection; she had been robbed by pirates and was utterly destitute. The young princess, a member of the degenerate house of Lusignan, a lady of olive complexion, brilliant eyes and overwhelming loquacity, threw herself at the feet of the Pope, who was seated in Consistory, and implored him for aid against her natural brother Jacopo, who, in alliance with the Egyptians, had usurped her throne. Pius dismissed her to Savoy in the course of ten days, with money and fair speeches.[2]

Festival of the entry of S. Andrew's head into Rome, April 12 and 13, 1462.

The great festival of the arrival of the Apostle's head in the city is one of the most curious scenes of the Roman Renascence. Pius had sent letters of invitation to the cities of Italy and had awarded Jubilee indulgences to those who took part. In April 1462 the relic was brought from Narni by the Cardinals Bessarion, Piccolomini and Oliva. Tribunes

[1] George Phranzes, ii. c. 26. His beautiful daughter Zoe was married by Sixtus IV. to the Grand-duke Ivan III. Of his sons, Emmanuel apostatised to the Turks and Andrew wandered through the world; Jacopo Volaterr. (*Diar. Rom.*, p. 157) saw him utterly in rags in Rome. He bequeathed his claims to Charles VIII. on September 6, 1494, and on April 7, 1502, to Ferdinand of Spain. Hopf, *ut supra*; Finlay, *Hist. of Greece and Trebisond*, p. 306; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osman. Reichs in Europa*, p. 215.

[2] *Comment.*, p. 175; Carlotta landed near S. Paul's on October 16, 1461. Voigt, iii. 655. Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste*, ii. 177.

and an altar had been erected in the meadows on the nearer side of Ponte Molle, where the cardinals arrived on Palm Sunday, April 11, and where the reception was to take place the following day. The Pope wished to bring the heads of SS. Peter and Paul to greet the new-comer, but the overpowering weight of the cases in which they were enclosed prevented their removal. He rode in procession with the cardinals to the spot. All carried palms, as did also the one thousand white-robed priests. Bessarion, a venerable-looking man with a long beard, now the representative of Greece, wept as he placed the casket which contained the skull on the altar before the Pope.[1] Pius, also weeping and deadly pale, threw himself down before the head of the Apostle, and then, like a genuine son of the age, addressed a Latin welcome to the stranger. "So thou comest at last, O most holy head of an apostle, driven from thine abode by the fury of the Turk. Like an exile thou seekest refuge with thy brother, the Prince of the Apostles. This is *Alma Roma* which thou seest before thee, and which is dedicated to the most precious blood of thy brother in the flesh. The Romans, who are thy brother's family, greet thee as their uncle and father."[2] Dense crowds assembled to witness the strange spectacle. Many wept. Honoured Byzantium, the

[1] *Commentar.*, p. 194. A tabernacle with the figure of the Apostle, erected by Pius II., still stands in the churchyard of S. Trinità dei Pellegrini on the spot where the reception took place.

[2] It is amusing to find that S. Peter himself can be conceived as the founder of papal nepotism.

daughter of Rome, who had unfortunately fallen under Turkish bondage, served as a historic background to the Pope's discourse. A thousand recollections, the entire relations in which eternal Rome stood towards the world, may have been re-awakened in the bystanders. Popes frequently displayed genius in the discovery of religious festivals, by which they worked on the popular imagination, and Pius II. showed himself no less ingenious than was Cola di Rienzo, when he explained the *Lex Regia* to the people. When Pius called on God to deliver Christendom from the Turkish yoke by the intercession of the Apostle, and held the head high above the tribune in sight of all the people, he was answered by the cry of "Misericordia!" from a thousand voices. The papal choir sung a festal hymn in Sapphics, composed by the poet Agapito Cenci; the procession marched towards Rome, the Pope carrying the relic in his hands. He spent the night in S. Maria del Popolo.

The following day the head of the Apostle was brought to the Vatican, when the Pope was borne on the Golden Chair. Thirty thousand tapers were carried in the procession, which, a mile in length, advanced first along the Tiber, past the Pantheon and then through the Via Papalis. With difficulty the militia opened a way through the crowd. The houses were adorned with garlands and hangings. From doors and windows beautifully dressed women saluted the head as it passed. Altars burning incense stood in the streets, pictures and statues in the squares. The cardinals and nobles, whose palaces

were situated along the route, vied with one another in the luxury of their decorations. The magnificence of the Procurator of the Knights of Rhodes and of Cardinal Alain evoked praise; but they were outdone by Rodrigo Borgia, who had covered his palace with the most costly draperies and had transformed the surrounding quarter into a Paradise resonant with music. The relics were finally carried into the brilliantly-lighted cathedral, where the statue of S. Peter still sat in the vestibule. The Pope burst into tears as he passed, as if the statue could feel the meeting with his brother. When the head was finally deposited in the Confession, Bessarion addressed a discourse to S. Peter, in which he expressed his conviction that the Prince of the Apostles would avenge the outrages his brother had received from the Turks, and that Andrew as a new protector of Rome would unite the kings in a crusade.

The great Sultan Mohammed must have smiled when he heard of this fanciful spectacle in Rome, for the sinews of the Turkish war were funds, and funds were scarce in the ecclesiastical treasury. Pius II., liberal but not extravagant, understood nothing of finance, and even as Pope remained poor.[1] Kings, churches and states refused to pay taxes for the war; they even threatened to summon a Council were such tithes demanded. But as if by a miracle, as early as May 1462 a fresh source of revenue was discovered, and that, too, in the patrimony of S. Peter. This was the alum mines which Giovanni de Castro discovered

[1] *Pecuniarum usque ad vitium negligens:* Campanus, p. 980.

at Tolfa. Giovanni, son of the jurist Paul of Castro, had formerly lived at Byzantium, and had acquired wealth by dyeing Italian stuffs with Turkish alum. He lost his business on the fall of Byzantium, and fled to employ his industrial talents in Italy. Pius II. made him treasurer to the Patrimony. The adventurous nature of the man drove him to explore the rough wooded hills of Tolfa; the sight of a plant that he had seen growing on the aluminous mountains of Asia aroused his attention, and minerals which he discovered and analysed yielded the purest alum. Rejoicing, he hurried to the Pope. "I come," he said, "to announce your victory over the Turks, that is to say, 300,000 ducats of annual revenue, which they will pay the West for dyeing materials. I have discovered seven hills so filled with the best alum as will suffice to provide seven quarters of the world."[1] These statements were believed to be the dreams of an astrologer, and the discoverer played the part of a Columbus until he prevailed. Genoese labourers who had formerly been employed in the alum works in Asia were summoned; they rejoiced that the discovery had been made at such a place, and found the material richer and better than the Turkish. The mines were brought into working order; Genoese were the first to buy 20,000 ducats' worth of alum; Cosimo Medici bought to the amount of 70,000. The Pope in his delight declared that Giovanni

[1] *Commentar.*, p. 185. Pius attributes the discovery solely to Giovanni de Castro, but Gaspar Veron., *Vita Pauli II.*, p. 1038, ascribes the chief merit to the Paduan astrologer Domenico Zacharia.

deserved a public statue, and his praises were sung by poets of the Court.

In a bull Pius pronounced the discovery of the alum mines a miracle and a divine contribution to the Turkish war, and he exhorted Christendom no longer to buy the dye from the unbelievers but from the Patrimony of Peter.[1] The profits of the mines were actually devoted to the war against the Turks; an article in the constitution of Conclave of 1464, and another in 1484, expressly determined that they should be set apart for the purpose. Even under Pius II. several thousand men were employed in the alum works, and under his successor they yielded still greater results. The receipts of the Apostolic Camera were estimated at 100,000 gold florins. For three hundred years the mines of Tolfa maintained their reputation, until after 1814, when the product disappeared from European markets, science having discovered the means of producing alum by chemical process.

The intention of Pius II. was to incite the world to a Crusade by some bold act; he determined to place himself at the head of the movement, and from Ancona to set forth against the Turks. He desired to achieve an undertaking that would surround his name with undying glory and secure a fresh and universal supremacy to the Church. Like the pious

[1] *Romae ap. S. Petr. A.D.* 1463, *VII. Id. April. A.V.*, Rayn., n. 85. Tolfa belonged to two Roman barons, Lewis and Peter; they received a share of the mines. Concerning the working of these mines, see Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15 Jahr.*, p. 282.

Aeneas he wished to return to the Homeric coasts, and to wrest them from the Turkish barbarians.[1] In the spring of 1462 he had astonished the Cardinals by the announcement of his scheme. The means were to be supplied by the State of the Church, Hungary and Venice. Philip of Burgundy declared himself ready to join the war and fulfil the vow he had made on the fall of Constantinople.

Pius II. resolves on the Crusade against the Turks.

Pius summoned all the powers of Italy to a Congress in the middle of August 1463. Ferrante, Sforza, Borso, Ludovico of Mantua sanctioned the Mantuan war tax; other powers, such as Florence, evaded it. In a long speech addressed to the Cardinals, the Pope reviewed his pontificate; the obstacles had been removed from his path; the wars in Italy ended, the tyrants kept in check; it was now time for action, and he desired to equip a fleet. True, money was lacking, for, in spite of the alum mines, the revenues of the State of the Church scarcely amounted to 300,000 ducats, half of which sum was consumed by the castellans, the prefects of the provinces, the generals and the members of the Curia. And while Pius asked by what means the tottering rule of the Church was to be upheld, he cited the Christian virtues on which it had been founded; for the self-indulgence and luxury of the priesthood had now brought it into contempt with the entire world.[2] Cardinals such as Barbo, the

[1] *En pius Eneas pietate a matre creatus*
Debitus effusi sanguinis ultor adest;
thus he was addressed by Niccolo Valla, a poet of that time.

[2] *Despectui sacerdotium est et nomen cleri: et si verum fateri*

youthful Gonzaga, the wealthy Estouteville, the Lucullus-like Scarampo or a Rodrigo Borgia would hardly repudiate the truth of the accusation, but they must have been all the more surprised when the Pope announced his intention of reviving the times of the early Christian martyrs by his own and their example. Could this gouty old man carry the Sacred College along with him to end their days in the shambles or under the sabres of the janissaries, as Cesarini had ended his? "We ourselves," said Pius, "are too weak to combat sword in hand, and we are priests. But we shall emulate Moses, who prayed on a mountain while Israel fought with the Amalekites. On the bridge of some vessel or on some height shall we stand, holding aloft the Sacred Chalice, and so shall invoke the blessing of God on our troops." He wept, as did some of the Cardinals, all, sincerely or otherwise, agreed in the curious resolve; the aged Carvajal burned with enthusiasm.

Bull of Crusade, Oct. 22, 1463.

After Pius had announced his adhesion to the league of Venice and Hungary, he issued the bull of Crusade on October 22, 1463, and in it declared his intention of going to Ancona. It took the secretary Lolli two whole hours to read the manifesto aloud in Consistory.[1] In vain the Pope implored the most illustrious princes of Italy to act the part of Tancred in this Renascence of the Crusades; the already ageing Sforza considered the preparations insufficient for

volumus, nimius est curiae nostrae vel luxus vel fastus; hinc odiosi populo sumus.—Comment., p. 339.

[1] *Ezechielis prophetae magna sententia, dat Romae ap. S. Petr. XI. Kal. Nov. Pont. n. A. VI.* Raynald, *ad Ann.*, 1463, n. 29.

so great a war, and declined the glory of sacrificing himself like Decius for his fatherland.[1] The hoary Cosimo said with irony that the Pope in his old age ventured on a youthful enterprise. Florence, already jealous of Venice, opposed the scheme. Lewis XI. of France received a consecrated sword without having any desire for the nimbus of a predecessor. Nay more, irritated at the Pope's Neapolitan policy, he compelled Philip of Burgundy himself to break his solemn word; for in a weak moment Lewis had sacrificed the pragmatic sanction of the French Church to the promises of the Pope, without having thereby saved the Angevin cause in Naples. In Germany no one would hear of the Crusade. Was it not more practical to reform the Church both in head and limbs instead of involving her in tedious political enterprises?

Incapable of equipping even three galleys, Pius based his hopes solely on the Venetians and the Crusaders who came as volunteers to Rome and Ancona. The throng of people once more displayed to the eyes of Europe the repellent spectacle of the mediaeval Crusades. The Pope was assailed by many doubts, but as he could not retract his given word, he set forth on his journey to Ancona on June 18, 1464. Already ill with fever, he was carried on a litter to the Ponte Molle, whither the Romans accompanied him. Turning on his departure to take leave of the illustrious city, he said: "Farewell Rome, thou wilt never again see me alive." With a few trusted companions he entered a boat on the

Pius II. departs for Ancona, June 18, 1464.

[1] His letter to the Pope, Milan, October 25, 1463, Rayn., n. 43.

Tiber; he wept as the people on the banks took leave of him. Could the Osmanli have beheld an ailing pope setting forth to the conquest of Asia in a fragile bark, which was propelled at times by panting rowers, at times was towed along the bank, the spectacle would have excited their derision. Pius spent the first night in the boat at Castel Giubileo, the second at Fiano. He here witnessed one of his young oarsmen drowned before his eyes, and the sight deeply moved him. He landed at Soracte, but soon returned to the boat, which he quitted altogether at Otricoli, and was thence carried onwards in a litter. Bands of crusaders committing robberies and depredations thronged the roads; his attendants drew the curtains of the litter to spare him the sight. Dying, he was carried through the same fields of Sabina and Umbria which he had traversed with such enjoyment but a few years before. With difficulty he reached Ancona on July 18.

Pius II. at Ancona.

There he made his abode in the episcopal palace beside the ancient church of S. Ciriaco, situated on a lofty promontory, whence the eye may gaze with delight over the Adriatic. The pure breezes that blow there, the sun that shines, seem to bring air and light from Hellas and the East. From the windows of the palace Pius looked across this lovely sea towards the East, where lay Byzantium and Jerusalem and the past of the human race. Perhaps at the same hour the young Columbus gazed from another shore towards the West, in the clouds of which the future of mankind lay still thickly veiled. The harbour of Ancona was empty; only two papal

galleys anchored within it. Days passed in excitement and disillusion; the Pope was wasted by fever. At length the sails of S. Marco were seen on the horizon, and on August 12 the Doge Cristoforo Moro entered the harbour with twelve vessels. Pius, however, was no longer able to receive him.

On August 14 he assembled the Cardinals who were with him round his bed. These were Bessarion, Carvajal, Forteguerra, Eroli, Ammanati and Borgia. He bade them farewell. He begged their forgiveness if he had failed in the government of the Christian republic, or if he had offended them. He recommended to their care the war with the Turks, the State of the Church and his nephews. Bessarion answered, praised his government and assured him that no reproach could be brought against him. When he had dismissed the Cardinals, his favourite Ammanati asked him whether he wished to be buried in Rome. Pius in tears said, "Who will look to my funeral?" The dying Pope seemed relieved when the Cardinal replied that he himself would do so. He passed away on August 14, 1464.

Death of Pius II., Aug. 15, 1464.

Pius II., on the promontory of Ancona, his face turned towards the East, may have appeared to his friends like the dying Moses, and in their flattery they actually represented his death as a martyrdom for the faith. Others, affirming that he was already repenting of his poetic fancy, and that he intended to return to Rome by Brindisi, congratulated themselves on his timely death.

In the versatile character of Pius II., calm judgment will refuse to honour the martyr to an idea,

nor even recognise in it that of a great man. In Pius the culture of the age appears on the papal chair in a consummate and urbane form, as, in the great Federigo of Urbino and Alfonso of Aragon, it appears on the throne of princes. Thus, by the fulness of his learning and the spell of his talents, Pius II. was an ornament to the Papacy. His figure, with its intellectual temperament, a temperament such as had never been seen before on the papal throne, and which entirely belongs to his century, completes the series of popes, among whom during the long course of ages all types of character are found. It is with perfect justice that in the richly endowed Tuscan, gifted with the most attractive parts, we look upon the mirror in which his period is most clearly reflected. Such many-sided errant natures reflect the world which they encounter and observe, but themselves possess neither the depth of thought nor the energy of enthusiasm to create anything within it. The most remarkable thing that they leave behind is generally their own "memoirs."[1]

[1] The Commentaries of the Pope give a faithful portrait of him. On the *Vita Pii II.*, by Campanus, I cannot bestow the high praise awarded to it by Voigt, the praiseworthy biographer of the Pope; it is a panegyric in the style of Suetonius, without cohesion, warmth or naturalness. Campanus in Ep. i. 1 (ed. Menken) well describes Pius's literary endowments. Not without truth he says: *congessisse naturam in hunc unum infinitorum hominum ornamenta.* The life of Pius by Platina is his best biography of a Pope.

3. Paul II. Pope, August 27, 1464—He Annuls the Capitulations of Election—His Vanity and Love of Splendour—Death of Scarampo—Paul dismisses the Abbreviatores—He gains the Adhesion of the Romans by Bread and Games—The Carnival—Revision of the Roman Communal Statutes, 1469—Death of Count Eversus and Fall of the House of Anguillara, June 1465—Fall of the Malatesta, 1468—Robert Malatesta seizes Rimini — Frederick III. in Rome, 1468—War concerning Rimini—Renewal of the League of Lodi, December 22, 1470—Borso, first Duke of Ferrara, April 1471—Death of Paul II., July 26, 1471.

The Sacred College consisted at this time of twenty-two Cardinals—Prospero Colonna and Oliva having died in 1463, Cusa in August 1464. Some were conspicuous for wealth and princely birth, others for learning or long services. To the time of Eugenius IV. belonged Carvajal, an incorruptible veteran; the Dominican Torquemada, the most zealous champion of the infallibility of papal authority; Bessarion, a Greek and the favourite of Pius II.; Estouteville, the head of the French party, rich and distinguished, a lover of the fine arts, more especially of church music; Scarampo, and his enemy Pietro Barbo.[1] Among the younger members Borgia was prominent owing to his office

[1] The Cardinals of the time are described by Card. Papien., *Com.*, ii. 369; with greater minuteness by Gaspar Veronensis, *Vita Pauli II.*, 1028.

of vice-chancellor, a handsome and jovial man possessed of a magnetic attraction for women.[1] A rival in such good fortune was the young and handsome Cardinal of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, son of the Margrave Ludovico and of Barbara of Brandenburg, who held a truly princely court. In gratitude for his reception at Mantua, Pius II. had made him a Cardinal at the age of seventeen.[2] Filippo Calandrini, a half-brother of Nicholas V., and Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini were esteemed men of unblemished reputation. Jacopo Ammanati, Cardinal of Pavia, a nephew of Pius II., was a cultivated and pleasure-loving prelate; there was also the warlike Forteguerra.[3]

The Conclave assembled in the Vatican on August 27, 1464. The Venetian Dominic, Bishop of Torcello, a celebrated humanist, gave the customary address. He regretted that the prestige of the Sacred College had vanished, that everything was now determined by papal caprice, and that in consequence the entire ecclesiastical administration

[1] *Formosus est, laetissimo vultu, aspectuque jocundo, lingua ornata atque melliflua, qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratior allicit, et mirum in modum concitat, plus quam magnes ferrum; quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur*, which is irony on the part of Gaspar Ver. (p. 1036).

[2] *Unica menda laborans, qua et nonnunquam senes affecti sunt, non juvenes modo avidi, sed et puellas intueri. Sed hoc in formoso juvene non magno vitio adscribitur:* Gaspar, p. 1029.

[3] Of the creations of Pius II. there were, besides the Frenchmen, Louis d'Albert and Jean Geoffroy of Arras; Bartol. Roverella of Ferrara, Archbishop of Ravenna, Berardo Eroli of Narni, Angelo Capranica; there were also the more aged Cardinals Latino Orsini, Alain of Avignon, Richard Longueil.

had become utterly corrupt; they ought to elect a pope who would make it his duty to remedy these evils.[1] The election itself occasioned no difficulty, for on the first scrutiny, on August 30, the Cardinal of S. Marco was unanimously elected. This was

Pietro Barbo.

Pietro of the house of Barbi, born February 26, 1418, son of Niccolo Barbo and of Polixena Condulmer, sister of Eugenius IV. Pietro when a boy had been on the point of starting for the East in a trading vessel when he heard of his uncle's election; he remained, in consequence, in Venice, and dedicated himself to study, for which, however, he had no vocation. He sought out his uncle in Ferrara and here received the tonsure. On June 22, 1440, he was presented with the red hat. The Cardinal of S. Marco was a man of moderate abilities, but of handsome presence and attractive manners. He possessed the art of ingratiating himself and of resorting to tears of entreaty at will, on which account Pius II. occasionally called him in jest *Maria pientissima*.[2] He built a palace beside S.

[1] *Ep. Torcellani ad Card. oratio pro elect. S. Pont. habita Rome in bas. S. Petri VIII. Kal. Sept. A.D.* 1464. *Mscr. Vatican*, 4589. *Nunc autem quid ad vestrum senatum—defertur? Bella paucor. consilio inita, legati missi, maximae et amplissimae facultates sordidis et impuris et corruptissimis hominib. dat., praefecti exercitib., arcib. et provinciis ecclesie, officia Ro. Curiae distributa, immunitates datae, res ecclesiae alienatae. Thesauri dissipati. Et haec omnia non modo vob. non consentientib., sed omnino nihil scientibus.* Domenico Domenichi had worked out a scheme for the reform of the Curia for Pius II.: *Tractatus de reform. Curiae Romanae;* Pastor, *Gesch. d. Pius II.*, 190 f.

[2] Platina, *Vita Pauli II.*; and concerning his popularity the first book of Gaspar in *Marini archiat.*, ii.

Marco, collected antiquities and gave jovial banquets. He was sensual and a lover of splendour. Vain of his handsome person, he displayed a theatrical magnificence in the service of the Church, glad to attract the gaze of the multitude. Beyond an attempt to reconcile Eversus of Anguillara with the Orsini or the Church, he had scarcely taken part in public affairs.[1] He owed the tiara to the alliance between Venice and the Curia with regard to the Turkish war.

On his election he wished to call himself Formosus; the Cardinals objected to this frivolous name, as well as to that of Marco, San Marco being the battle-cry of the Venetians. Pietro Barbo called himself Paul II., and was consecrated on September 16, 1464. While in Conclave and also after his elevation he swore to the capitulations of election—*i.e.*, to continue the war against the Turks, to reform the Curia, to convoke a council in three years, not to appoint more than the prescribed number of twenty-four cardinals, not to elect any under the age of thirty, or any one who was not versed in law or theology, and not to bestow the red hat on more than one nephew. The cardinals had preserved their privileges in these capitulations, and in an additional article had obliged the Pope to consent to assemble the Sacred College twice a year, when it would ascertain whether all these articles were

Paul II. Pope, 1464–1471.

[1] M. Cannesius, *Vita Pauli II.*, edited by Cardinal Quirini, Rome, 1740. This panegyric, dedicated to Cardinal Estouteville, was surpassed by the Venetian patriotism of Quirini in his *Vindiciae* of Paul II.

observed.[1] This memorable attempt to render the Pope subject to a syndicate failed, as did each successive attempt of the cardinals to transform the monarchical constitution of the Papacy into an oligarchy. They were shattered against the Pope's dogmatic authority and the means of enforcing its will possessed by the Papacy. Barbo would not sink to the impotence of a Doge under the surveillance of a committee of nobles, and he soon gave his former colleagues to understand of what he was capable. He laid before them an altered copy of the document; some signed it, wishing to curry favour; others, such as Bessarion, he compelled by force. All signed the document without having been allowed to read it, the Pope keeping it covered with his hand. Carvajal alone remained obdurate. Paul contemptuously threw the document into a cupboard, without signing it himself, and no one ever saw it again.[2]

After having thus imposed on his peers, he consoled them with the purple mantle and red coverings for their horses, bestowing on them these trappings as signs of their dignity. To cardinals, whose revenues did not amount to 4000 gold florins, he gave an additional subsidy of 100 florins a month; he helped poor bishops with equal liberality. Everything round Paul II. must be magnificent,

[1] *Utque ad tertia rememorationis officia transgressionis et perjurii illum monerent, ad servandumque precarentur:* Card. Papiens, p. 371.

[2] Card. Papien, *Comment.*, p. 372. He wrote an admonitory letter to Paul II. on this account. *Ep. Jacobi Card. Pap.*, n. 181.

but he himself must tower above the clergy like a high priest, such as Aaron. The Papacy must be admired in his own person.[1] With morbid vanity he collected precious stones to adorn his papal crown, the value of which was estimated at 200,000 gold florins. When the Emperor afterwards came to Rome, and Paul showed him the heads of the Apostles in the Lateran, he compared an emerald which was in their setting with a jewel on his own finger to see which was the finer. Sultans might have envied him, but holy men observed that the Church was great when her high priests wore merely mitres of white linen. It was perhaps due to the fact that he had been a Venetian merchant in former days that Paul owed his passion for these costly trifles; such passion, moreover, was a mania of the time.[2] Popes, kings, cardinals collected beautiful stones and pearls with the same eagerness as their predecessors had collected relics. Scarampo possessed a valuable treasure of this kind. This adversary of Paul II. died on March 22, 1465, it was said from mortification at his rival's election. His wealth, which amounted to more than 200,000 gold florins, he would rather have left to the Turks than to the Pope. He bequeathed it to his nephews, but Paul set aside the will and caused the fugitives to be seized and brought back. Whole waggon-loads of gold coin and valuables

Paul's love of splendour.

Death of Cardinal Scarampo, March 22, 1465.

[1] It was said in Rome that the Pope rouged himself when he appeared in public. Platina.

[2] *Sola ejus voluptas:* Card. Papien, p. 371. Raphael, *Volaterranus Anthropol.*, xxii. 676.

of every kind, that Scarampo had wished to send to Florence, were emptied in the Vatican, only a part falling to the nephews. No one in Rome objected to these proceedings, for Scarampo's wealth had been accumulated by robbery.[1]

Paul II. was a man of strong will. People murmured but submitted. He reversed the entire administration of the palace. Day became night and night day. He wished to reform the Curia according to his own ideas, and in 1466 began with a decree which called forth a veritable storm among a swarm of secretaries. Since the time of Nicholas V. the Curia had been filled with countless scriveners; literary adventurers, favourites, relations crowded to enter it; offices within it had become a matter of business traffic. The post of secretary frequently cost 1000 ducats, but carried its reward. These scriptors were private secretaries of the Pope; some were driven from the Vatican by his death; others sat in secure employment such as the abbreviatores, whose college stood under the vice-chancellor.[2] Pius II. had given them a constitution, had reduced the number to seventy, had filled the college with his creatures, and had deprived the vice-chancellor of the influence he had hitherto possessed. Paul II., the friend of Borgia, abolished these ordinances. He removed

Paul II. removes the abbreviatores.

[1] Gaspar Veron., M. Cannesius. Platina also acknowledges the Pope's leniency towards the nephews of his enemy. Scarampo was even plundered in his grave by the clergy, who were, however, punished by Paul.

[2] Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, iii. 448. See J. Ciampini, *De Abbreviator. dignitate*, Roma, 1691.

the abbreviatores of his predecessor, in order to bestow their posts on others. The secretaries, who thought themselves the most important people in the world, raised a cry; they besieged the Vatican for twenty nights without obtaining a hearing. Finally their leader, Platina, wrote a violent letter to the Pope, in which he threatened him with an appeal to a Council. He was brought to S. Angelo, where he languished four months, until he was released at the intercession of Gonzaga, but he did not accomplish his desire.[1]

Paul II. also determined to institute a drastic reform in the management of the Curia, but did not succeed in abolishing the accustomed traffic in offices, "that great spiritual market." He forbade the rectors in the State of the Church to accept gifts, and prohibited the sale of church property. He was the first to entrust fortresses for their safer custody to the guardianship of prelates. Calixtus III. and Pius II. had richly provided their families with posts such as these; but Paul extorted even from his enemies the admission that he had promoted neither nephews nor favourites. True he bestowed the purple on his relations Marco Barbo, Giovanni Michiel and Baptista Zeno, but he tolerated no confidant.

The practical Venetian understood the art of government. He was severe but often just. He

[1] On his release he was obliged to promise to remain in Rome: *in Indiam si proficiscere, inde te retrahet Paulus.* (*Vita Pauli II.*) He revenged himself in his biography of the Pope; yet the portrait which he draws is not false throughout.

seldom signed a death-warrant. The Fraticelli, who had settled in the Marches and even at Poli near Tivoli, were merely punished with exile; Stephen Conti, their head, was imprisoned in S. Angelo. The conspiracies of the followers of Tiburtius and Porcaro had made him suspicious, and the heretical tendencies towards free thought of the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto drove him to petty persecution of this institution. The accused, however, escaped with imprisonment or flight. Paul's court was voluptuous, he himself wholly given over to sensual pleasures. Contemporaries seeing the Rome of those days shuddered at the depravity of the clergy.[1] Paul gave the people bread and games. He founded granaries and slaughter-houses in the city. He imparted an entirely secular character to the festivities of the Carnival—processions in which figured mythological representations of gods, heroes, nymphs and genii were held through the city. From the loggia of his palace beside S. Marco the Pope witnessed the races which took place between this building and the Arch of Domitian,[2] and to him is entirely owing the introduction of the new pagan element into the Carnival. But few asked whether the conduct which had been fitting in a Pompey or a Domitian was also becoming in a Pope. When Cardinal Ammanati

The Carnival in the time of Paul II.

[1] *Paulus II. ex concubina domum replevit, et quasi sterquilinium facta est sedes Barionis;* thus says Marcus Attilius Alexius in Baluze. —Mansi, *Miscell.*, iv. 517.

[2] Cannesius. Hence the name Corso. First Jews, then youths, men of middle age and old men ran for pallia. Another day horses, asses, buffaloes.

protested against the change, he was apparently laughed to scorn.[1] At the end of the games Paul entertained the people in the front of this palace, where he chiefly resided. The foremost citizens were served at richly-furnished tables, while Vianesius de Albergatis, the vice-chamberlain, and other prelates of the Church saw to the maintenance of order. Paul, looking from the windows, and utterly forgetful of his dignity, threw money among the crowd, who finished the remains of the banquet. Seeing the senator, the conservators and the citizens sitting unabashed at this banquet, he must have acknowledged that both senate and people were henceforward incapable of liberty.

Revision of the statutes of the Roman Commune.

In 1469 Paul II. caused the statutes of Rome to be improved, and thereby rendered a service to the city, for the last revision was probably that due to Albornoz.[2] This statute book falls into three divisions—civil law, criminal law, and the administration. The ancient form of the Capitoline magistracy still endured, although it was perfectly independent

[1] *Aemulator quoque vanitatis antiquae saeculares ludos, et epulam Rom Populo exhibes. Ep. Jacobi Card. Pap.*, n. 281.

[2] The revision was publicly announced on the Capitol on September 23, 1469, under the Senatorship of Francesco de Arigneriis. Thus fol. 173 of the Statute-book of 1469, in the Capitoline Archives. This parchment Codex was written in 1487 by Oddo de Beka Alamannus de Brabantia; and bulls of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. are added. Pietro Mellini, a celebrated Roman jurist, who died in 1483, had caused the Statutes of Rome to be collected and transcribed in a parchment Codex, by Bernardo Venturini of Pavia in 1438. This Codex remains in the Vatican Archives. The statutes revised under Paul II. were first printed in 1471.—A better revision was made under Gregory XIII. in 1580.

of the Pope. Next to the senator, appointed every six months, were the three conservators, and the council of the regionary captains and the six-and-twenty. All these bodies formed the *Consilium Secretum*, the remains of the ancient Credenza. This Council formulated decrees, which it laid before the *Consilium Publicum*, in which all citizens over twenty years of age had a voice. An elective committee of "Imbussolatores" elected the judges of the Capitol, the conservators, the overseers of roads, the syndics and the regionary captains. No priest could hold office in the Capitoline Curia; only Roman citizens could be elected as podestàs in the district belonging to the city. The ancient guild-constitution still endured.

Jurisdiction of the city of Rome.

The magistrate had jurisdiction over the life and death of Roman citizens of lay conditions, who could not be brought before any spiritual Curia.[1] The distinction between the two Curias, however, was not always practicable, and the number of tribunals was so great that the Romans no longer knew to which they belonged. The senator, the gubernator or vice-chamberlain, the vicar, the auditor of the Camerae, the soldan, the barigellus, the captains of the regions had their own Curias. To remedy this confusion Sixtus IV. and Julius II. later revived the distinction between the Capitoline and spiritual forum.[2]

[1] *Statuimus—quod nullus Laycus Civis Romanus—conveniri possit—in aliquo alio foro ecclesiastico vel seculari civiliter aut criminaliter nisi tantum in Curia Capitolii.* Rubr. xxiii., *de Foro Competenti.*, lib. iii.

[2] Appendix to the Statutes of 1580. Criminal justice and the

Criminal justice had a difficult task, for the people had become utterly depraved by "vendette" and hereditary feuds. The defiant power of individuals mocked at the law, and everyone fought for himself as he pleased. We can no longer form any conception of circumstances such as those described by Benvenuto Cellini. The wars between factions of the nobility on a great scale were for the most part extinguished, but Orsini and Colonna, Valle and Santa Groce, Papareschi, Savelli, Caffarelli, Alberini and others settled their quarrels by means of hired "bravi" and their domestic servants. The men who fought in vendetta were called "brigosi." In certain circumstances they had the right of barring their houses and filling them with armed men. Vendetta was the most dreadful scourge of all cities of Italy, and in Rome it claimed countless victims. Not only relations but also strangers offered themselves for hire to him who had insult to avenge.[1] Vendetta.

In order to curb this evil, Pius II. had already appointed as justices of the peace two *Pacierii Urbis*, sometimes presided over by cardinals, and Paul II. revived the institution. He pronounced the Brigosi deprived of civil rights, and ordered their houses to be pulled down, a barbarous measure The justices of peace of the city.

administration of the police were divided between the Capitol and the Vice-Camerlengo, who had his Curia first on the Campo di Fiori and then in the Palazzo Nardini (del Governo Vecchio).

[1] *Non solum propinqui—sed etiam extranei utrique parti se offerunt, quod vulgo—Fare de bene nuncupatur.* Bull of Paul II. *Viros sanguines, Rom. X. Kal. Oct. A.* 1466. Appendix to the Statute of 1580.

which was no longer sanctioned in the statute of 1580.[1] Provided the relations of the murdered man agreed, the assassin could still purchase remission of his penalty: for barons and even their bastards the penalty was 1000 pounds Provins; for knights and the cavalerotti, 400; for citizens, 200.[2] In this case the murderer was banished for a year. For the murder of relations, however, there was no remission; the measure of punishment was doubled by circumstances of time or place; the law attached a fourfold penalty if the crime were perpetrated within the district of the Capitol or in the market place.[3]

Administration of the finances of the city.

The third part of the statute regulated the civil administration; the finances, markets, streets, buildings, games, university. The city still retained its estates and tributary places, such as Cori, Barbarano, Vitorchiano, Rispampano and Tivoli. An article ordained that no inhabitant of a vassal territory should swear allegiance to a baron, or have his arms painted on his house. Laws regulated the commercial traffic, the coinage, weights and measures. The *Grascierii Urbis*, officials who are first observed in the year 1283, supervised the market. We might extol the foundation of corn-magazines, had not the system of providing for the populace soon given rise

[1] The above-named bull of 1466, which was ratified by Sixtus IV. in 1471.

[2] The pound Provins was worth 20 solidi, equal to 15 Bolognini or Bajocchi: Statute of 1580.

[3] The Statute here refers to an edict of Baroncelli. In the Communes of Italy an alphabetical register was kept of all *diffidati* and *reaffidati*.

to usurers of grain. The *Gabellarius* or *Gabelliere Maggiore* administered the system of public taxes. This high communal official, whose appointment apparently belongs to the time of the return of the popes from Avignon, must be a foreigner like the senator.[1] He was elected for six months. Under him was a *Camerarius gabellarum*. The taxes as a rule were farmed out. Nothing could be taken out of Rome without a ticket from the custom house (*apodissa dohanae*). On the other hand every citizen might bring in merchandise from the urban districts and the territory of Montalto, as far as Terracina, without being subjected to duty outside the city.[2] Paul imposed a tax on vegetables and firewood; taxes also remained on cereals, meat and wine, and the civic system of duties on export and import, customary since ancient times, still survived.[3] There were, however, no taxes on industries; every Roman could sell what he willed; but a light tax was imposed for the "stone" on which the wares were

Tolls and taxes.

[1] The oldest known *gabellarius generalis* is Ser Franciscus de Viterbio, 1385. *Statuti delle gabelle di Roma*, p. 175.

[2] Rub. 158, iii. *Districtus Urbis passibus XL. millibus circumquaque finitur*, Statute of 1580, lib. iii. c. 195. The territory *a Montalto-Terracenam* denotes the former Roman duchy.

[3] The Statute of the tolls of the city lies before me. It was revised under the Senator Malatesta de Malatestis on September 29, 1398 (parchment of that time, in private possession). Tax on cereals: 4 soldi for every rubbio of corn; wine tax: *sex denarios prov. pro qualibet libra valoris totius vini.* Tax on animals slaughtered: *octo den. pro qualibet libra pretii dictar. bestiar.* Tax for foreign cloth; for skins, iron, oil, fish, groceries, flax, cotton, ornaments. These registers formed the *Statuta gabellarii majoris Alme urbis:* as *Statuti delle gabelle di Roma* they are edited by Sigism. Malatesta, Rome, 1885, with an introduction.

displayed. The guilds decided the admission to the exercise of the trade, but no tax was paid for the privilege. The weights of the money-changers were made uniform, and a council of money-changers from the stalls of the Pantheon, the Piazza of S. Peter, the Bridge of S. Angelo, and S. Adriano on the Forum, was appointed to supervise them. Laws, which now appear meaningless, restricted luxury in clothes and banquets, at weddings and funerals. They even limited the dowries of daughters, which were not to exceed 800 gold florins.

Such are the most important articles of the communal statutes revised under Paul II. If the city had lost its importance as a political commune, an extended jurisdiction and its autonomy still remained to it. Its poverty, however, was so great that it scarcely possessed any financial jurisdiction of its own, but was dependent on the apostolic camera. The camera exercised jurisdiction over the civic revenues, and the Roman officials were appointed by the Pope.[1]

Paul II. would have nothing to do with military matters. It was only when driven by necessity that he waged some wars with vassals of the State of the Church, especially with the Anguillara. During the reign of Pius II., Count Eversus, one of the cruellest tyrants of the time, had seized the former territory of the Prefect in the Patrimony, where in his rock fortresses he heaped up the spoils of cities,

Eversus of Anguillara.

[1] Malatesta, *l.c.*; A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrh.*, Innsbruck, 1889, p. 100 f.

pilgrims and merchants. Like Malatesta he was in alliance with all the enemies of the popes, a despiser of the priesthood and of religion. This, however, did not prevent his taking thought for his soul; he bequeathed a legacy to the chapter of canons of S. Maria Maggiore and gave vast sums to the Lateran hospital, on the outer wall of which his coat of arms may still be seen. The remains of his palace still exist in Trastevere—a gloomy tower, on the summit of which at Christmas time figures represent the birth of Christ.[1] Eversus, who died on September 4, 1464, left two sons, Francesco and Deifobo, the second of whom made a name for himself under Piccinino. He did homage to the Pope, promised to surrender some fortresses, and broke his word. Paul II. now took up the matter in earnest; at the end of June 1465 he sent Federigo of Urbino, Napoleon Orsini and Cardinal Forteguerra with troops into the Patrimony, and in a few days the thirteen rock fortresses of Eversus surrendered. Deifobo fled from Bleda to Venice, where he took service, and Francesco with his children was conducted to S. Angelo.[2] Immense spoils were found

Fall of the house of Anguillara.

[1] His will *Cervetere nella Rocca residentia nostra*, January 14, 1460, in Adinolfi, *Laterano e via Maggiore*, Rome, 1857, Doc. iv.—His gravestone in S. Maria Maggiore was destroyed. The epitaph is given by Camillo Massimo: Torre Anguillara, p. 15. Some documents concerning the last Anguillara in Tomassetti, Della Camp. Rom. (*Arch. d. Soc. Romana*, 1882, v. 102 f.).

[2] *Card. Papien. Comment.*, p. 377. After five years the prisoners were released. Francesco died in 1473 in Rome, where he is buried in the Church of S. Francesco a Ripa. Inscription on his grave: *Francisco de Anguillaria Comiti Eversi filio M. Domina Lucretia de*

in the fortresses; many unfortunate captives were released from the dungeons; workshops for coining false money were discovered, and the documents of Eversus revealed a tissue of crimes extending over years. The cities over which the tyrant had ruled now reverted to the Fiscus, and the Church thus became mistress of the Patrimony.[1]

The support of the King of Naples, the enemy of Eversus and Deifobus, the allies of Anjou, had contributed to this success. Ferrante, however, soon showed himself dissatisfied; he prevented the Pope from placing a garrison in the fortress of Tolfa, which Paul was finally obliged to buy from Ludovico, brother-in-law of Duke Orso of Ascoli, for 17,000 gold florins. The King complained because Paul would not remit the tribute; he also wished to re-annex Sora to the crown. He was already preparing for a war of revenge against the rebellious barons and all adherents of Anjou. In 1465 he had treacherously beguiled Jacopo Piccinino to Naples, and had put him to death in prison—a crime in which Sforza was not wholly unconcerned. With the last condottiere of the school of Braccio was removed the only man capable of holding Milan and Naples in check for the Pope. Owing to the marriage of Alfonso of Calabria with Hippolyta Sforza, the two dynasties were now united by ties of close alliance.

Farnesia conjugi suo pientissimo et benemerenti fecit, qui obiit A.D. 1473, *in pace. Amen:* Schrader, *Monum. Ital.*, p. 129.

[1] These places were Vico, Giove, Carbognano, Caprarola, Stigliano, Ronciglione, Capranica, Vetralla, Bleda, Viano, Monterano, Cere, Calata, Carcaro, Monticelli, Santa Pupa, Santa Severa, half of Cerveteri. *Comment. Card. Pap.*, p. 377.

That Paul II. was prevented from taking possession of the cities belonging to the house of Malatesta was chiefly due to Ferrante. Malatesta Novello died childless on November 20, 1465, while his brother Gismondo was serving under the Venetian banner in the Morea. The young Robert, Gismondo's bastard son, who acted as regent of Rimini during his father's absence, tried to occupy Cesena and Bertinoro, which nevertheless surrendered to the Church; the Pope, however, bestowed Meldola and Sarsini on the brave youth, summoned him to Rome and sent him as captain of mercenaries to Pontecorvo, in order to keep him far from the Romagna. Meanwhile Gismondo, but just returned from the Turkish war, died in October 1468, and Isotta, formerly his mistress, afterwards his wife, became regent of Rimini. Robert, however, who dazzled the Pope by representing that he would surrender the city to him, was gratefully despatched thither; but he drove away his step-mother and, according to agreement with the King of Naples, kept Rimini for himself. The duped pontiff collected an army, and soon almost all the powers of Italy threatened this one city.[1] All were suspicious of the growing power of the Papacy; the Venetians especially, from whom Paul demanded the surrender of Ravenna and Cervia and who aimed at the possession of the Adriatic coasts. Moreover, the death of Francesco Sforza on March 8, 1466, and that of Cosimo dei Medici on August 1, 1464, had occa-

Robert Malatesta, lord in Rimini.

[1] Book V. of the *Comment. Card. Papien* deals with these circumstances.

sioned complications, since neither Galeazzo Maria in Milan, nor Piero in Florence, had inherited any of the genius of their respective fathers. The Florentine exiles with their allies under the Venetian general Colleone had sorely harassed Florence from the Romagna; and the Florentine republic in consequence had entered into a league with Naples and Milan in the beginning of 1467.[1] In April 1468 the Pope made a general peace between the hostile parties, which, however, the affairs of Sora and the war with Rimini now threatened to disturb.

The powers of Italy stood in these strained relations when Frederick III. unexpectedly made a journey to Rome, it was said in fulfilment of a vow, but in reality to discuss with the Pope the affairs of Milan, Bohemia, Hungary and the Turkish war. As he passed Ferrara during the Christmas-tide of 1468, his approach awoke Paul's fears concerning the Romans, to whom the Pope appeared as a usurper, whenever the Emperor, their legitimate head, entered the city. Paul brought troops into Rome.[2] The Emperor, who came with an escort

[1] The league between Naples, Milan and Florence was concluded on January 2, 1467, in Rome: letter of Ferrante of January 12, 1467, in the *Cod. Aragon.*, ed. Trinchera, Naples, 1866, i. p. 1. It was proclaimed in Ara Coeli on February 2. Malipiero, *Annali Veneti Arch. Stor.*, vii. 231.

[2] *Chron. Eugubin.*, Murat., xxi. 1016. Frederick came from Otricoli to Castel Valcha on the Tiber. See the account of the papal master of the ceremonies Augustinus Patrizi, *Descriptio adventus Frid. III. Imp. ad Paul. P. II.*, Murat., xxiii. 206, and *Comment. Card. Papien.*, lib. vii.

of six hundred cavalry, was solemnly received although he entered late on Christmas night. Bessarion welcomed him at the Porta del Popolo, whence Frederick was conducted in a torch-light procession to S. Peter's, where the Pope awaited his guest. We must read the notes of the papal master of the ceremonies to understand the ideas then prevailing concerning the relative position of Emperor and Pope. "The affability," wrote this court official, "shown by the Pope to the Emperor seems all the greater since the papal authority is in no degree less than in the past, while the papal power has increased. For owing to the ability of the popes, and especially of Paul II., the Roman Church has so increased in princely power and wealth as to equal the greatest kingdoms. On the other hand the imperium of the Roman Emperor has fallen into such utter decadence that nothing remains but its name. In this change of things we must highly estimate the smallest sign of cordiality." The court official records to the praise of the Pope that he twice condescended to visit the Emperor, that when walking together, the Pope sometimes held Frederick's left, sometimes his right hand; that he even permitted the Emperor to keep pace with him, motioned to him to sit down beside him, and, in short, treated him as if he were an equal. The throne on which the Emperor of the West was permitted to sit beside the Pope was, however, only the height of the papal footstool. The father of Maximilian humbly bowed before the Pontifex Maximus; in a Christmas procession he nimbly hurried forward

Frederick III. in Rome, Dec. 1468.

to hold the stirrup. As they both rode together under a baldacchino, Rome for the last time saw the two heads of Christendom together traverse her streets. The sword was carried before the Emperor as in ancient times. All the corporations of the city and the royal envoys on horseback took part in the magnificent procession. On the bridge of S. Angelo the Emperor bestowed the accolade of knighthood on innumerable Germans, the Pope playing the part of spectator for an hour; on the same bridge he also suffered Frederick to announce publicly that Galeazzo Maria had forfeited the duchy of Milan and to bestow it on his grandson. The negotiations concerning the Turkish war proved fruitless, and the Pope declined to consider the proposal of a congress of princes.[1]

As early as the dawn of January 9, 1469, the Emperor left Rome. He had lavishly scattered honours, and he continued this lucrative occupation on his return journey. He had not been able to adjust the complications in Italy; on the contrary the war with Rimini employed all the powers. The Pope concluded an alliance with Venice on May 28, 1469. Robert's side was, however, joined by Federigo of Urbino, who had rendered such signal services to the Sacred Chair since the time of Pius

[1] In December 1466 Skanderbeg, driven from Albania, had come to Rome, where he remained until February 1467. The Pope gave him money. A house under the Quirinal, where he is said to have dwelt, still bears his likeness. *Skandersbech Albanese partì di Roma dove era venuto il Decembre precedente. Cola di Paolo di Ponte ad A.*, 1467.

II., and who with misgiving now beheld the Papacy crush one feudal lord after another. He gave Robert his daughter in marriage and also lent troops for his support. Milan, Naples and Florence also sent him aid. The youthful Malatesta manfully defended Rimini. In August he and Federigo inflicted a crushing defeat on the papal-Venetian army, and seized several places in the Pentapolis. This success, the threatening attitude of Ferrante, and finally the danger from the Turks induced Paul II. to renounce Rimini, especially since Negroponte had fallen under the power of the Sultan on July 12, 1470. Thus peace was made in the summer and again on December 22, 1470; the Pope, Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence and Borso of Este renewed the League of Lodi, and at the request of the powers also included Robert Malatesta.[1]

Robert Malatesta successfully defends Rimini.

Borso was the favourite of Paul II. This brilliant prince came to Rome in the spring of 1471; a hundred and thirty-eight mules, twenty of which were laden with gold, carried his travelling requisites, and he was accompanied by a splendid retinue of knights.[2] He dwelt in the Vatican. On April 14 Paul bestowed on him the dignity, which Pius had refused, of Duke of Ferrara. The fortunate Borso died, however, in Ferrara as early as May 27, 1471.

Borso d'Este first Duke of Ferrara, April 14, 1471.

[1] League of December 22, 1470, Raynald, n. 42, Dumont, iii. i. n. 296.

[2] His entry on March 31, and his elevation as Duke are described by the jurisconsult Franciscus Ariostus in letters to Ercole d'Este (Rome, April 3 and May 1). *Mscr. Chigi.* vii. 261.

lamented by his subjects as scarcely any other prince before him.[1]

Paul II. also died suddenly on July 26, 1471. After supper on that evening he caused the architect Aristoteles to be summoned in order to question him concerning the removal of the Vatican obelisk to the piazza of S. Peter's.[2] He was struck by apoplexy during the night and was found dead in his bed. As he died without receiving the communion, the scoffing rumour arose that a spirit, which he had kept confined in one of his many rings, had strangled him.[3] No one mourned the vain and proud man, through whom the Papacy, which had been spiritualised by the talents and ideas of his predecessor, was again degraded. Nothing great was achieved under him; the efforts of Pius II. to form a European league against the Turks were discontinued. On the other hand he had increased the monarchical power of the Sacred Chair.[4] Immediately after him papal nepotism

Death of Paul II., July 26, 1471.

[1] *Diario Ferrarese*, Murat., xxiv. 232. His monument is the ducal palace in Ferrara. He was succeeded by his brother Ercole.

[2] Raph. Volaterran., *Anthropol.*, xxii. 677. The design was only carried out by Sixtus V. The architect was Aristotele de' Fioravanti of Bologna, a celebrated engineer. The Vatican obelisk had always remained erect; it is therefore curious that about 1375 Dondi asserts that he read the couplet, which is given by Morelli, *Operette*, ii. 297, concerning its erection by the architect Buschetus in Saec. XI.

[3] *Allegretto Diar. Sanesi*, p. 771.

[4] Cannesius, Gaspar, Filelfo (*Ep. I. ad Sixtum IV.* in Raynald, n. 64) and Aegidius of Viterbo are panegyrists of Paul. His enemies are Platina and Ammanati. Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, iii. 168, calls him, "*homme tenable et avaricieux.*"

assumed immeasurable proportions, and the Papacy itself became so deeply entangled in Italian politics that the rule of Paul II. must be designated as the last of a less secular and corrupt period.

He had appointed eleven cardinals; among them, besides the relations already mentioned, was Oliviero Caraffa, a member of the Neapolitan house of the Counts of Maddaloni, a man who soon became prominent; also Jean Balue, a French upstart and notorious intriguer, the favourite of Lewis XI., who, however, when Balue became Cardinal, kept him a prisoner for eleven years in the Castle of Loches; and the general of the Minorites, Francesco Rovere.

4. SIXTUS IV. POPE, AUGUST 25, 1471—DEATH OF BESSARION—BORGIA LEGATE IN SPAIN—CARAFFA ADMIRAL IN THE TURKISH WAR—NEPOTISM—PIETRO RIARIO — JULIAN ROVERE — LIONARDO ROVERE—PROFLIGACY OF RIARIO THE CARDINAL-NEPHEW — HIS FESTIVALS FOR LEONORA OF ARAGON—DEATH OF THE CARDINAL—HIS NEPHEW GIROLAMO RIARIO RISES TO PRINCELY GREATNESS —GIOVANNI ROVERE MARRIES JOANNA OF URBINO.

The Conclave began on August 6. For the second time the tiara hovered over the head of Bessarion, but on the 9th the electors united in favour of Francesco Rovere, an adherent of the Milanese party. He owed his election to the votes of Orsini, Borgia, Gonzaga and Bessarion. In reward, Borgia received the Commenda of Subiaco; Gonzaga, the

Abbey of S. Gregorio, and Latino Orsini the office of Camerlengo.[1]

Francesco Rovere.

Born at a little place near Albisola, on July 21, 1414, Francesco Rovere belonged to Savona. It is said that his father Lionardo had been a poor fisherman. His mother was called Lucchesina Mugnone.[2] While still a child he was destined for the Franciscan order. He was a zealous student of ecclesiastical learning, became doctor of philosophy and theology at Padua, and taught successively in the schools of Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Florence and Perugia. Bessarion attended his lectures and was his friend, and to him Francesco also owed the title of Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, which he received on September 17, 1467, after he had already been made general of the Minorites. He was reputed more learned and skilled in dispute than almost any monk of his time, and was now a man of fifty-seven, with an expressive countenance, an aquiline nose, and keen and severe features, which seemed to denote a self-seeking character and a passionate energy that might become formidable, that suffered no contradiction and ruthlessly broke down all opposition. He was inexperienced in political matters, but nevertheless, as he soon showed, that like a prince he was born to rule, to plan and to create.

[1] Infessura. Of the more aged cardinals, Carvajal died on December 6, 1469; Torquemada on September 26, 1468; Latino Orsini at the age of 74 in 1477.

[2] According to Bapt. Fulgosius, *De dictis factisque memorabil.*, iii. 92, his father was a sailor. Machiavelli and Corio speak of him as "*di bassissima condizione.*"

Rovere ascended the papal chair as Sixtus IV. on August 25, 1471, and was crowned by the Cardinal-archdeacon Borgia. The ceremony of his taking possession of the Lateran was disturbed by a popular tumult. Stones were thrown at the litter in which the new Pope was carried, and it was with difficulty that Cardinal Orsini tranquillised the uproar. Lorenzo Medici greeted the new Pope in the name of the Florentines, and Sixtus made him his treasurer. Sixtus IV. Pope, 1471–1484.

Scarcely was he Pope when he resolved to prosecute the most urgent of European affairs—the war against the Turks—on which, according to the terms of election, the wealth accumulated by Paul II., and kept in S. Angelo, was to be expended.[1] Sixtus determined to summon a Council at the Lateran to consider the matter, but, the Emperor proposing Udine as a place of congress, negotiations proved fruitless. Meanwhile the Pope appointed legates—Bessarion for France, Borgia for Spain, Marco Barbo for Germany.

They set forth in the spring of 1472 to reconcile the princes who were at strife, and to issue indulgences and raise funds for the Turkish war. Bessarion, unskilled in diplomatic affairs, had no success in France; he was treated with contempt by Lewis XI., and soon returned to Ravenna, where he died. Borgia went eagerly to Spain and formed

[1] Among other valuables were found fifty-four silver cups, filled with pearls, worth 300,000 ducats: precious stones and gold for the new tiaras to the same amount. The other jewels were valued at a million ducats. Pastor, ii. 410.

ties with the Spanish court which were afterwards of service to him.[1] The powers declined the Turkish war; only Venice, Naples and the Pope united in fitting out a joint fleet, which set forth in the spring of 1472. The papal vessels had already sailed to Brindisi; only four galleys advanced up the Tiber to S. Paul's. Sixtus consecrated their banners in S. Peter's on May 28, after having made admiral of the fleet the revered Cardinal Caraffa—a man versed in theology and in civil and canon law, but not in maritime affairs. Caraffa repaired in procession to the harbour, went on board the admiral's vessel and blessed the fleet. He went to sea, but neither he nor the Venetians gained many laurels in the war in the Levant. The Cardinal returned the following January, when he made a triumphant entry into Rome, with twenty-five Turkish prisoners who, mounted on camels, rode through the city.

Sixtus IV. equips a fleet for the Turkish war.

The first acts of Sixtus II. were consequently those of a Pope who desired to revive the European policy of Pius II. In a short time, however, he abandoned his universal policy to concentrate his attention on the politics of Italian states; his restless and intriguing intellect created complications which were calculated to extend the pontifical power in Italy. In Sixtus IV. the territorial

[1] *Vicecancellarius autem Pontificem nactus artibus et corruptelis suis creatum, concupitam diu in patriam profectionem facile impetravit, ut honoratus iret, ut populis se visendum praeberet, ut ex tribus regnis omnifariam messem cometeret. Ep. Card. Pap.*, 534. Nevertheless he unblushingly flatters him elsewhere, saying that he had excellently fulfilled his legation (Ep. 513).

prince began to display himself so strongly in the pontiff that the successors of Peter at this period resemble dynastic princes of Italy, who only accidentally happened to be popes, and who wore the tiara instead of the ducal crown. These entirely secular careers more than ever demanded entirely secular means: financial speculations, traffic in offices and dignities and an unscrupulous state policy, the rule of relations. Nepotism, never hitherto so unreservedly adopted, was the mainspring of all the actions of Sixtus IV. Nothing was more curious than this illegitimate system in Rome.[1] Relations, at this time for the most part actual bastards of popes, princes of the Vatican, appeared on the scene with every change on the papal throne; they suddenly rose to power, tyrannised over Rome and the Pope himself; in a brief game of intrigue disputed with princes and cities for the coronets of counts, frequently only remained in power during the lifetime of the Pope, and even when their influence was shattered founded new factions of papal nobility. The "nephews" were the symbol of the personal territorial sovereignty of the popes, and at the same time the props as well as the instruments of their temporal rule, their trusted ministers and generals. Nepotism became the system of the Roman states;

Character of papal nepotism.

[1] The opinion that was held of the system is shown by the formula in Sixtus IV.'s bull of legitimation (November 5, 1481) for Don Pedro Luis, bastard of Cardinal Rodrigo (afterwards Alexander VI.): *Illegitime genitos, quos morum decorat honestas, nature vitium minime decolorat; nam decus virtutum geniture maculam abstergit in filiis* (*Boletin de la R. Ac. de la Hist.*, Madrid, 1886, p. 426).

it took the place of hereditary succession, and created for the Pope a governing party and also a defence against the opposition of the cardinal's college. If the Pope made use of a brief term of rule to aggrandise his family, this work of aggrandisement for the most part could only be accomplished within the limits of the ecclesiastical state, since the other powers of Italy prevented the adoption of a wider area. But this ecclesiastical territory, at the time large enough for any aspiring ambition, offered sufficient material for deeds of arms and for political arts, since many feudal houses and republics still remained to be destroyed. The "nephews" undertook this work of destruction; they helped to transform the State of the Church into a monarchy; and although they openly threatened the Papacy, whose most dangerous offspring they were, with secularisation, yet not even the most courageous of these upstarts succeeded in founding a dynasty and rendering the State of the Church subject to it. In the end they invariably served the Papacy, within whose territories they restrained the great native parties, and by degrees exterminated the tyrants. Nepotism, a form of degeneracy both in priesthood and Church, consequently finds its political justification, or the causes of its necessary origin, in the ecclesiastical state.

As Rome had been Spanish under Calixtus III., Siennese under Pius II., so under Sixtus IV. it became Ligurian. On December 15, 1471, he made two of his nephews cardinals. Pietro Riario from

Savona, believed to be his son, was created Cardinal of S. Sixtus, and Julian Rovere, son of his brother Rafael, Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula. The Pope thereby violated the articles of Conclave; the election was also censured, because both his nephews were youths of low birth educated in the Franciscan order, and conspicuous neither for merit or ability. The cardinals accepted them with reluctance, little dreaming that one was to acquire undying fame as Julius II. Julian, Bishop of Carpentras, was twenty-eight years old, formal and serious, but given to sensual excesses, and an entirely worldly man. Nothing in him revealed a great nature.[1] Pietro was somewhat younger, a Minorite monk of ordinary stamp; Sixtus had him educated in the cloister, and had scarcely become Pope when he created him Bishop of Treviso. He loaded him with dignities; made him Patriarch of Constantinople in Bessarion's place, Archbishop of Seville, Florence and Mende, and bestowed so many benefices upon him that his income amounted to 60,000 gold florins.[2] The nephew rose to giant greatness, and soon governed the Pope. A poor monk, suddenly become a Croesus, he plunged into the wildest sensuality. The life which this parasite led beside the papal throne, dissipating his strength and wealth in the brief joys and excesses of two years, forms the most

The nephews Pietro Riario and Julian Rovere.

[1] *Vir est naturae duriusculae, ac uti ingenii, mediocris literaturae:* Jacob. Volaterran., *Diar. Roman.*, Murat., xxiii. 107.

[2] Cartesius, *De Cardinalatu*, p. 44. Cartesius is of opinion that a cardinal must have a revenue of 12,000 gold florins and keep a retinue of about 140 people in his house.

glaring picture of the fortunes of papal nephews. Never before had any one shown such defiance of all morality as this Cardinal who wore the garb of S. Francis.[1]

Other nephews remained laymen, to rise from the most humble circumstances to the summit of honours. Lionardo, a brother of Julian, as inconspicuous in body as in mind, became Prefect of the city on the death of Antonio Colonna on February 25, 1472. Sixtus wished to exalt him at the cost of Naples; he remitted the tribute to Ferrante for his lifetime, substituting for it the obligation of providing the Pope with a white palfrey every year.[2] The price of this concession was the marriage of Lionardo to an Aragonese princess, who received Sora as dowry.[3] This despotic action of the Pope consequently dissolved the feudal relationship of Naples with the Sacred Chair. The cardinals grumbled. Of what use were the terms of election? Did not every pope do whatever seemed good to himself? Lawlessness reigned in the Curia; soon nothing would be sacred any longer: each in turn sought only his own advantage. Sixtus hoped, through his alliance with Naples, to assure the success of his nepotist policy on the other side of the Apennines, and the alliance was pompously dis-

Lionardo Rovere, Prefect of the city.

[1] He lived *inter scorta atque exoletos adolescentes.* His mistress Teresa wore shoes with costly pearls. *Bapt. Fulgosius*, ix. 278.

[2] *Vita Sixti IV.*, Murat., iii. ii. 1059. This was the origin of the white cob.

[3] Infessura and Vita Sixti IV. call her a bastard daughter. *Card. Papien.*, Ep. 439, *neptis regia.* The Duke of Sora, Giampolo Cantelmi, was compensated with 5000 florins from the Pope.

played when Leonora, the natural daughter of the King, came to Rome in June 1473, in order to meet her husband Ercole of Ferrara. The festivals given in her honour by the nephew surpassed in wanton prodigality everything of the kind that had been hitherto witnessed.

Leonora of Aragon in Rome.

The young princess with a magnificent retinue arrived on the eve of Whitsunday. The cardinal nephew, who had but just entertained the envoys of France with a splendour worthy of Sardanapalus, received her in his palace near the SS. Apostoli. The adjoining piazza, covered with canvas, was transformed into a theatre for festivals. Bellows concealed from sight wafted cool air into the halls of the palace, which had been magnificently decorated by the foremost artists of Rome. The finest Flanders tapestries, among them the magnificent piece of Nicholas V. depicting the Creation, covered the five entrances to the great banqueting hall. The adjacent rooms glittered with gold, purple and costly vessels. Chairs furnished with the softest cushions rested on silver feet. Reclining on her luxurious couch, the young princess may have dreamt that she was Cleopatra, and on waking probably smiled when she reflected that Antony was represented by a purple-clad Franciscan. On retiring to their sleeping rooms the luxurious ladies of the court must have laughed on discovering that even the humblest vessels were of silver gilt.[1] Paganism and Chris-

[1] *Oh guarda, in quali cose bisogna, che si adoperi lo tesauro della Chiesa!* Infessura, p. 1144. Corio, vi. 417, quotes Martial on the subject. *Card. Papien.*, Ep. 548.—Corvisieri, *Il trionfo romano di*

Lavish banquet given by the Cardinal-nephew in honour of Leonora of Aragon.

tianity mingled in extravagant ostentation; mythological figures were everywhere seen, now in velvet altar-coverings, now in papal coats of arms, now in tapestries depicting Biblical histories. On Whitsunday the princess went in magnificent procession to S. Peter's, where the Pope read mass. At noon the Cardinal caused a representation of the history of Susanna to be given by Florentine players; on Monday he held the public banquet which excited universal surprise by its unparalleled extravagance. The servants clad in silk waited with exemplary skill, while the seneschal four times changed his costly vestments. Even Vitellius would have lauded the table of the monk Riario, on which every conceivable product was artfully served. Before seating themselves, the company partook of gilded and sugared oranges with malmsey and washed their hands in rose-water. The Cardinal took his place beside the princess, when amid the blare of trumpets and the sound of flutes, a countless array of dishes appeared, whose names and modes of preparation would have perplexed the most accomplished cooks of Asia. If the seven persons who sat at the principal table had but tasted of all the dishes, they would inevitably have died of indigestion. Before them were carried wild boars, roasted whole in their entire hides, bucks, goats, hares, rabbits, fish silvered over, peacocks with their feathers, pheasants, storks, cranes and stags; a bear appeared in its skin, hold-

Eleanora d'Aragona (*Archiv. della società Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1878, i. 475, and vol. x. (1887), p. 628 f.); *Notabilia Temporum of Angelo de Tumulillis* (ed. Corvisieri, Rome, 1890, p. 194).

ing in its mouth a stick; countless were the tarts, jellies, candied fruits and sweetmeats. An artificial mountain was carried into the room, out of which stepped a living man with gestures of surprise at finding himself in the midst of such a gorgeous banquet; he repeated some verses and then vanished. Mythological figures served as covers to the viands placed on the table. The history of Atlas, of Perseus and Andromeda, the labours of Hercules were depicted life size on silver dishes. Castles made of sweetmeats and filled with eatables were sacked and then thrown from the loggia of the hall to the applauding crowd. Sailing vessels discharged their cargoes of sugared almonds. Mythological representations followed at the end of the banquet, performances by buffoons and musical symphonies. Madonna Leonora could leave Rome with the conviction that the world could produce nothing that in childish extravagance surpassed or even approached the court of a pope's nephew.[1]

Cardinal Julian probably looked with contempt on the folly of his cousin, who was idolised by the populace and whom the cardinals now flattered, since he was the all-powerful favourite of the Pope. His court eclipsed the courts of kings. Everything that the luxury of the time produced adorned his palace. It was filled by a throng of artists, poets, actors and clients. The foremost men in Rome

[1] The bill of fare fills nearly two pages of Corio. Seven persons sat at the chief table—Leonora, between Cardinal Riario and Count Girolamo, the Duke of Andria, Sigismund of Este, the Duchess of Amalfi, and Messere Alberto, Ercole's natural brother.

respectfully accompanied Riario, when with one hundred racehorses he rode from his stables to the Curia. His flatterers sang the banquets which he gave, as courtiers had sung those of Fabunius or Reburrus in antiquity. He was more powerful than the Pope. Wishing to display his greatness abroad, he obtained the title of legate for the whole of Italy, with plenary powers, such as were hitherto unknown. He then journeyed to Milan at incredible expense, by way of Florence, Bologna and Ferrara, in September 1473. Poets strewed verses along his way and sang his entry. Galeazzo Maria received him in solemn procession with royal honours. The nephew already cherished the most audacious ideas; it was said that he wished to make Galeazzo King of Lombardy, in return for which Galeazzo promised to help him to the Papacy, either on the death of Sixtus IV., or on his voluntary abdication. And the Pope one day would have discovered that he had cherished a viper in his bosom.

The Cardinal-nephew Riario, legate for Italy.

Riario went to Venice, where he received similar honours. But death ended his career of pleasure soon after his return. The wretched libertine passed away at the age of twenty-eight, on January 5, 1474. In his short tenure of the office of Cardinal he had squandered 200,000 gold florins, and, notwithstanding, left behind great debts. The populace, whom he had entertained with the most magnificent carnival amusements, bewailed him, but all serious men congratulated Rome, as if she had been freed from a pestilence. In this dissolute man, the entirely material renascence of the debauchery of ancient

Rome was re-incarnate. Riario, a prodigy of nepotism, is a characteristic figure of this tendency.[1]

Sixtus IV. wept the death of his darling, but transferred his favours to the dead Cardinal's brother, Girolamo Riario, who had remained at Savona, earning a scanty subsistence as secretary to the customs, until the elevation of his uncle or father, when fortune summoned him to Rome.[2] Sixtus bought Imola from the banished tyrant Taddeo Manfredi, and invested Girolamo with this county. He married him to Catherine Sforza, a bastard daughter of Galeazzo. The family of the Pope also soon became allied by marriage with that of Urbino. Sixtus made Federigo Duke of Urbino, and Federigo promised his daughter Joanna in marriage to Giovanni Rovere, the very youthful brother of Cardinal Julian. Julian was on terms of special friendship with Federigo, the Duke having supported him in 1474, when as legate he recovered Città di Castello, Spoleto and Todi for the Church

Girolamo Riario, lord of Rovere.

[1] According to Corio, the following satire was written on his tomb:

Omne scelus fugiat latia modo procul ab urbe,
Et virtus, probitas, imperiterque pudor.
Fur, scortum, leno, Moechus, pedica, Cynedus,
Et scurra, et Phidicen cedat ab Italia.
Namque illa Ausonii pestes scelerata Senatus
Petrus ad infernas est modo raptus aquas.

His character is described by Volaterr., in *Raynald ad A.*, 1474, n. 22, and *Card. Papien.*, Ep. 548.

[2] B. Fulgosus, vi. 197: *in patria vili mercede publicanorum scriba fuit.*—The *Chronica Ferrariae* of the notary Caleffini of 1471–1497 (*Mscr. Chigi*, T. i. 4) says, on the contrary: *lo quale conte solea essere spiciale a Savona, e suo patre Calegaro.*

with an energy that foretold the future Julius II. In Federigo's company Julian returned to Rome in May 1474, and here arranged the important alliance between the two families. In spite of the opposition of some cardinals, Giovanni Rovere was invested with Sinigaglia and Mondovi, and in 1475, Lionardo Rovere having died on November 11, he became Prefect of the city. The marriage with the princess of Urbino, who was still a child, was only consummated in 1478. She came to Rome, where the "Persian" extravagance, with which the festival was celebrated, showed that the luxury of the papal nephews had not been buried with Cardinal Riario.[1]

Giovanni Rovere, Prefect of the city, 1475.

5. The Jubilee Year, 1475 — Murder of Duke Galeazzo in Milan, 1476—Conspiracy of the Pazzi—Murder of Julian Medici, April 1478—Sixtus IV. places Florence under the Ban—League of the Italian Powers and France against the Pope—War against the Florentine Republic — Girolamo Riario becomes Lord of Forli in 1480—The Turks conquer Otranto—Death of Mohammed II., 1481—The Turks leave Otranto—Charlotte of Cyprus—Cyprus becomes Venetian.

The Papacy became more and more secular; the Roman Curia sank deeper and deeper into the vices of the time. Satires and tidings of its degeneracy spread abroad. The German pilgrims, such as

[1] *Persico apparatu—nuptiae celebrantur:* Matt. Palmieri, *De temporib. suis ad A.*, 1478, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Flor., 1748, vol. i.

Christian, King of Denmark, who visited Rome in April 1474, or those who came in the year of jubilee, 1475, could see for themselves that nothing prevailed but nepotism, simony and usury. But few pilgrims appeared at the jubilee, which, on account of its financial gains, Paul II. had already appointed to be celebrated every twenty-five years. Was it possible that the Rome of these days could be regarded as the source of Christian salvation? A pagan spirit pervaded the city, with the theatrical splendour of ancient imperial times. Secular pomp became a necessity of the papal government; the pampered populace called for festivals, and festivals were given in abundance. A hundred thousand men assembled on S. Mark's Day, 1476, on the Piazza Navona, when Girolamo Riario held a tournament, in which Italians, Catalans, Burgundians and other nations contended for the prizes. The pestilence, however, broke out immediately afterwards, and the images of the saints were soon again seen carried in procession through the streets. In defiance of the severe police laws, Rome and the surrounding district were filled with murderers and criminals of every class.[1]

Secularisation of the Papacy.

Happily peace had not hitherto been disturbed, for fear still compelled the Pope to moderation, since on November 2, 1474, Milan, Florence and Venice had formed a league to counteract his selfish

[1] On September 5, 1475, Sixtus forbade all Corsicans to dwell in Rome and the State of the Church, except under bail of 200 ducats. The poor islanders came *ad laborandum in rebus rusticis* and perpetrated several murders. Theiner, iii. n. 410.

policy. Sixtus and Ferrante endeavoured to dissolve this league, and the king had come to Rome for the purpose in January 1475. A terrible event soon altered existing relations, for on December 26, 1476, the hated Galeazzo Maria fell under the daggers of men intoxicated with ideas of freedom. The murder of a tyrant was also the revival of an ancient system. After freedom had fallen in the republics the imitators of Harmodius and Aristogiton, of Brutus and Cassius appeared. The Italian assassins were no less justified than the Greeks in regarding the murder of a tyrant as a heroic act.[1] The three young nobles, Girolamo Olgiati, Gianandrea Lampugnani and Carlo Visconti, who stabbed Sforza in a church, had been educated, like Stephen Porcaro, in the school of antiquity. Olgiati, a highly gifted youth of twenty-two, died on the scaffold with the fortitude of an ancient hero, a fact which is the more remarkable because this spirit had been partly acquired in the school of rhetoric.[2] The half-crazy profligate Galeazzo, who was believed to have murdered his mother Bianca, a second Phalaris, had but just attained the age of thirty-three. His

Murder of Galeazzo Maria, Dec. 26, 1476.

[1] Alamanno Rinuccini (*Ricordi Storici*) at that time spoke of the murder of Galeazzo as: *virile e laudabile impresa e da esser imitata da chiunque vivesse sotto tiranno o simile a tiranno.*

[2] When the executioner was about to quarter him, he exclaimed: *collige te Hieronyme, stabit vetus memoria facti. Mors acerba, fama perpetua.* His confessions are given in Corio, vi. 422. In prison he composed classic epigrams and congratulated himself that they were correct. These tyrannicides first practised their thrusts upon themselves with the sheaths of daggers, and, according to Allegretto (p. 778), on an effigy of the Duke. Galeazzo's portrait is given by Rosmini, *Storia di Milano*, iii. 23.

widow, Bona of Savoy, with the aid of the minister Simonetta, wished to claim the regency for her eight years old son Gian-Galeazzo, but the brothers of the murdered man Ludovico the Moor, Sforza Maria Duke of Bari, Ascanio and Ottaviano immediately began their intriguing machinations, so that in Milan first appeared the canker, which soon spread through the whole of Italy.

The Milanese tragedy found a still more terrible repetition in Florence, and here behind the scenes stood the Pope himself as an accomplice, and even as political head of a conspiracy. Not only the participators in the crime, but the victims and the sacred spot where the deed was enacted, have rendered the conspiracy of the Pazzi celebrated in history. The house of the Medici did not owe its power to arms and bloodshed, but to commerce, wealth and virtues. The history of ancient and modern republics affords scarcely any finer spectacle than that presented by the earlier Medici. They were not the tyrants of their native city, but its most educated and benevolent citizens, until their descendants, usurers and hypocrites, succeeded under the guise of benevolence in stifling liberty. On the death of Piero, son of Cosimo, in 1469, the Florentine state was guided by his sons, the amiable Julian and the gifted Lorenzo. But a faction which had been oppressed by the house, envious of its greatness, conspired to work its fall, not only from motives of egotism, but also in dread that the wealth and power of the Medici would transform the republic into a tyranny. Sixtus IV.

The Medici in Florence.

joined this faction of the house of the Pazzi. At first he showed himself friendly to Lorenzo, and when Lorenzo opened a bank in Rome, the Pope made him his treasurer.[1] These relations disturbed the policy of the nephews; for Italy was thereby divided in the alliance between the Pope and Naples, and the league between Florence, Milan and Venice. Sixtus strove in vain to separate Florence from Venice, believing that only by this means could Count Girolamo attain the supremacy in the Romagna.[2] On the other hand Lorenzo strove to check the rising greatness of the ecclesiastical state, which threatened to become a monarchy. He supported Niccolò Vitelli, whom Sixtus wished to drive from Città di Castello, and placed difficulties in the way of Girolamo's taking possession of Imola. It was said that he was also angry with the Pope, because he had refused him the cardinal's hat for his brother Julian.

The fall of the Medici seemed necessary to Sixtus, in order that the hindrances which stood in his path might be removed. If this fall could be achieved he hoped that he might be able to seize Tuscany, even to bring Florence under the Riarii. The threads of the scheme were spun in Rome. The Pope had deprived Lorenzo of the office of treasurer and made it over to Francesco de' Pazzi, whose

[1] Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, c. iii. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico*, second edition, 1883, i. 277 f. Lorenzo's agent in Rome was his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, to whom Sixtus sold the jewels of Paul II.

Machiav., vii. c. 31, viii. c. 2.

house owned a bank in Rome. Francesco discussed the execution of the plan with Girolamo. Sixtus even agreed to overthrow the Medici by violence, but did not contemplate their death. It was, however, resolved on by the Pazzi. Hired assassins were found ready to commit the murder, among them a captain of papal mercenaries, Gianbattista of Montesecco, and two priests, Antonio Maffei of Volterra and Stefano of Bagnorea, an apostolic secretary.[1] In order to give support to the revolution in Florence, Count Girolamo was to send troops to the neighbourhood of the city, and King Ferrante also promised to allow his son Alfonso to enter Tuscany, having chosen Siena as his share of the spoil. Francesco Salviati, whom the Pope had nominated Archbishop of Pisa, but whom the Medici had refused to recognise, was also initiated into the conspiracy, and to him Sixtus IV. sent the all-unsuspecting Cardinal Rafael Riario, commanding him to be helpful in every way. Rafael on his mother's side was nephew and heir to the profligate Pietro Riario, and when he left the University of Pisa had been made Cardinal on December 10, 1477,

Conspiracy of the Pazzi.

[1] The soldier Montesecco refused to commit a murder in the sacred basilica, whereupon the priests undertook the deed. Machiavelli, viii. c. 5. The revelations of this captain show that although the Pope did not desire the death of the Medici, he did nothing to prevent it: *Angeli Politiani Conjur. Pactianae Commentar.*, ed. Joh. Adimari, Neap., 1769. Infessura and Machiavelli represent Sixtus as one of the conspirators; see also *Vita Sixti IV.*, p. 261 (edition of Platina, Venice, 1562, with the continuation by Panvinius).—The Pazzi had a house beside the bridge of S. Angelo: Jacob. Volat., *Diar. Rom.*, p. 128.

at the age of seventeen. Two other nephews had received the red hat at the same time, Cristoforo and Jerome Rovere, also John of Aragon, a son of Ferrante.

Julian Medici murdered, April 26, 1478.

On April 26, 1478, the fanatical deed was accomplished in the Cathedral at Florence. Julian fell pierced by dagger thrusts at the high altar, under the eyes of Cardinal Rafael and during the elevation of the Host. But Lorenzo, who was only slightly wounded, escaped to the sacristy, where he locked himself in. The tumult in the cathedral was so great that it was believed the building was about to fall. Florence rose in fury, not to follow the summons of Jacopo de' Pazzi to strike for freedom, but to tear the murderers to pieces,—so indispensable had the Medici already become to the people. The Archbishop of Pisa, Francesco de' Pazzi, and other conspirators were hanged at the window of the Palazzo dei Signori; maimed corpses were dragged through the streets. Bands of armed youths escorted the rescued Lorenzo, like a second Pisistratus, to the palace, while amid loud lamentations the remains of Julian, pierced by almost as many daggers as those of Caesar in former days, were carried through the city. Julian had been the darling of Florence. He had died unmarried, but had left a bastard child, a few months old, called Giulio. Antonio da S. Gallo one day revealed the secret to Lorenzo, when the sorrowing brother undertook the care of the child's education. Fate decreed that forty-five years later this bastard should ascend the Sacred Chair, and should justify the con-

spiracy of the Pazzi by subjugating Florence to the now entirely degenerate race of Medici.[1]

The Florentines also demanded the death of Cardinal Rafael, whom guards had seized at the altar. The trembling boy in the purple assured them of his innocence, and his immature years convinced the judges that he had not been privy to the scheme. He was kept in confinement suited to his dignity. The celebrated Cardinal never recovered from the terror of the day; he retained a pallid complexion for the rest of his life.[2]

The news of the result of the conspiracy tore the mask from Sixtus; the failure of the crime angered the Pope; the hoped-for revolution was so entirely unsuccessful that Lorenzo rose to new greatness. The infuriated Count Girolamo with armed men forced his way into the palace of Donato Acciajuoli, the Florentine ambassador, and dragged him like a common malefactor to the Vatican. True that on Donato's protestations he was released and recalled from his post; but the outrages which the noble statesman had suffered soon caused his death.[3] On May 17, 1478, the Pope, King Ferrante and Siena formed a league for their common protection, and for the express purpose of driving the Medici from Florence.[4] Sixtus pronounced the execution of the Archbishop and the seizure of his cardinal-legate an

[1] Rinuccini (*Ricordi*, p. 128) calls the conspiracy of the Pazzi *impresa giusta e onesta per liberare la patria.*

[2] Ciacconius, iii. 71.

[3] Vespasiano, *Vita di Donato Acciajuoli.*

[4] The document is in the Archives of Siena.

offence against the Christian religion, with which, however, he had apparently found the plan of conspiracy quite compatible. On June 1, 1478, he hurled the ban against Lorenzo and the Florentine Signory, and threatened the city with the interdict unless it expelled its regents within the month.[1] The sentence was treated with contempt, but the Cardinal was released on June 12. Sixtus forthwith excommunicated the Florentines; he confiscated all their property in Rome, and his example was followed in Naples by his ally, the avaricious King. Both equipped armies, and as early as July, Alfonso and Federigo of Urbino entered Tuscany. The Florentines now called the world to witness the treachery and injustice of the Pope, as their ancestors had called on it a hundred years earlier. They forced the priests to read mass; they even assembled a synod of the clergy within their territory and appealed to a council. The justice of the case was so manifest that the whole world in fear or disgust turned against the despotic Pope, who made war on a noble republic because it had avenged the murder of its most respected citizens. Venice, Milan, Ferrara, Robert Malatesta, Giovanni Bentivoglio, Lewis XI. took the part of Florence. The French envoys, Tristan Count of Clermont, and Gabriel Vives, with the other plenipotentiaries of the league, assembled on August 1, 1478, at Bracciano in the castle of Napoleon Orsini, and here protested against

Sixtus IV. excommunicates Florence.

He wages war against it.

League against Sixtus IV. in Bracciano, Aug. 1478.

[1] Bull, Rome, June 1, 1478. *Iniquitatis filius et perditionis alumnus Laurentius de Medicis.* Fabroni, *Vita Laurentii Med.*, App. p. 121. The Pope had the bull printed and publicly sold.

the utterly corrupt policy of the Roman Curia. They announced to Sixtus that they would hold a council in France, unless he, who opposed hindrances to the most important concern of Christendom, the Turkish war, released Florence from censure and restored peace to Italy.[1] Messengers from the Emperor himself and from Matthias of Hungary hastened to Rome to use their influence with Sixtus. But all was in vain; on the contrary the Pope incited Genoa to rebel against Milan and induced the Swiss to make war on Lombardy. These hardy mountaineers had but just gained a victory at Nancy, where Charles the Bold of Burgundy had fallen. They suddenly became a power between France and Italy. The free cantons gave ear for the first time to the cry of a pope, who called upon them to descend to the valley of the Po, and thirsting for war, their army crossed the Milanese frontiers.

The Florentines formed an alliance with Milan, making Ercole of Este their leader. While the war was now continued in 1479, Ludovico the Moor took advantage of the confusion to acquire the regency over his nephew Gian-Galeazzo and to oust the Duchess Bona. His conduct changed the aspect of affairs; for Ludovico now held negotiations with Naples, to whose side he ceded. After great losses at the hands of the Duke of Calabria, who had been received in Siena, Florence found herself in direst

[1] *Acta—Brachiani Sutrin. dioc. territor. Dni Neapoleonis de Ursinus et in palatio sive fortalitio dicti oppidi. Archiv. Flor. atti pubblici*, clxi.

Lorenzo Medici saves Florence.

need, when Lorenzo Medici saved himself and his country by a noble resolve. Pondering the question from which of his two enemies he could most safely look for magnanimity, he came to the conclusion that the word of a king was more to be relied on than that of a pope.[1] Accompanied by but a few friends he went to Naples in December 1479, to place the welfare of the republic in the hands of the King, and his courageous act was rewarded with the same success as Alfonso of Aragon had obtained at the hands of the Visconti. His sound judgment and his intellectual gifts awoke the King's surprise, and at the end of three months he left Ferrante's court as his ally. The sudden change of circumstances was confirmed by the instrument of peace of March 6, 1480, but Alfonso still remained in Siena, where he was absolute ruler. The Pope was beside himself when he saw that Florence was saved. Henceforward the Tuscan war languished. Count Girolamo returned from Etruria to the Romagna, where he first drove Costanzo Sforza from Pesaro, and finally gained possession of Forli. The Ordelaffi had long reigned here; but the death of the tyrant Pino gave rise to a quarrel for the succession among the last illegitimate members of the house, and Girolamo Riario took advantage of the circumstance

[1] Machiavelli, viii. c. 17, assigns as the reasons, the brevity of a pope's life, the changes in the policy of his successor, the faithless policy of the Church—*chi è nelle guerre e pericoli del papa amico, sara nelle vittorie accompagnato e nelle rovine solo.* For the beautiful letter in which, from S. Miniato, Lorenzo announces to the Signory his resolve to undertake the journey, see *Lettere di Principi*, Venet., 1581, i. 3.

to seize Forli. On September 4, 1480, Sixtus IV. invested his nephew with this county also, and the feudal family once so powerful in the Romagna in the time of Albornoz thus passed away. Girolamo Riario, Count of Forli, Sept. 1480.

Meanwhile an event which struck terror into the whole of Italy forced the Pope to make peace. Repulsed at Rhodes, the Turks under Achmet Pasha sailed to the Mediterranean, landed at Otranto, and conquered it on August 21, 1480. They massacred its inhabitants and established themselves in the place. The banner of the Crescent now waved over Italian soil; the Sultan stretched his powerful arm towards the Western Roman Empire, and the dismembered condition of Italy seemed to open a way for him into the interior of the country. Sixtus fell a prey to such terror that he contemplated escaping to France. He now summoned Europe to his aid, now formed an alliance with Venice, and on December 13, 1480, after long hesitation, bestowed peace and absolution on Florence. Twelve envoys of the republic, among them Francesco Soderini, Luigi Guicciardini, Gino Capponi and Antonio Medici, appeared in presence of the Pope, who was seated on a purple throne outside the doors of S. Peter's. At each verse of the Miserere he touched the kneeling envoys with a rod, the doors of the cathedral were then opened, and they entered.[1] The Turks in Otranto, Aug. 1480. Peace with Florence, Dec. 1480.

Florence was actually saved by the Turks; for crafty Naples was not long to be trusted. Alfonso still remained in Siena; recalled by his father, he unwillingly withdrew. The following year the

[1] Jacob. Volaterran., *Diar. Rom.*, p. 114.

great league was concluded between all the powers of Italy, the Emperor, Matthias of Hungary, and Lewis XI. But the death of Mohammed II. was of more avail than the arms of the allies. Religious festivals were held in Rome and the whole of the West when the dreaded conqueror passed away on May 31, 1481. Bajazet and Djem, the two sons of the great Sultan, immediately fought for the throne, and on September 10, 1481, the quarrel caused the Turkish general Hairadin to evacuate Otranto, which Duke Alfonso had held besieged for several months. After the deliverance of the city, in the harbour of which lay the allied Spanish-Italian fleet, an expedition against Constantinople would have been almost sure of success; at least no equally favourable opportunity ever presented itself to Europe for the recovery of Greece. But a higher conception of international relations and a greater enthusiasm than was possessed by the potentates of that age were requisite. Sixtus IV. was too much occupied with affairs in the State of the Church and with his policy of nepotism; no dispassionate judge will perceive any burning zeal in his efforts on behalf of the Turkish war. His fleet with the cardinal-legate Fregoso returned to the harbour of Civita Vecchia. Andreas, the last Palaeologus, after having begged at every European Court, now found an asylum in Rome. Sixtus generously gave him a yearly pension of 8000 ducats. The Pope, for reasons we can understand, evinced no desire to accept Bosnia, which Catherine, its unlucky queen, bequeathed to the

Death of Mohammed II., May 31, 1481.

Sacred Chair. For this princess had already fled to Rome in 1466, and had died there as pensioner of the Pope on October 25, 1478.[1] Already in the same year Carlotta of Cyprus found herself again in Rome.[2] She was followed into exile by some noble Cypriotes, such as Ugo Lingles of Nicosia and the learned Ludovico Podocatharo, who afterwards became secretary to Alexander VI. and was made a cardinal by him. Sixtus gave the queen a dwelling in the Borgo and an income of 100 gold ducats a month. Carlotta, however, after having ceded her claims to the island to the house of Savoy, died at the age of forty-seven, on July 16, 1487.[3] But Cyprus fell to the republic of Venice, which had forced Jacopo of Lusignan, brother of Carlotta, to marry the beautiful Venetian Catarina Cornaro, who, on the death of her husband, which followed soon after, ceded the island to her native city.

Death of Catherine of Bosnia in Rome, Oct. 25, 1478.

Death of Carlotta of Cyprus in Rome, July 16, 1487.

[1] Her tomb is in Ara Coeli; see the illustration in Ciacconius, iii. 41.

[2] On March 27, 1478, with her own hand she wrote in the Liber fraternitas Sancti Spiritus: *Ego Cha' lotta dei gra Ihrim cipri et armenie Regina. . . .* Archives of the Hospital of S. Spirito.

[3] According to Martinelli, *Roma ricerc. Giorn.*, i. 15, she died in the Palazzo Spinola (now dei Convertendi), where Raffaelle afterwards died. Torrigius, *Le S. Grotte*, p. 285. It is asserted that Catherine of Bosnia also lived in this palace for two years before her death: Adinolfi, *La Portica*, p. 102.

6. Girolamo Riario tries to Acquire the Romagna —Venice, in League with the Pope, makes War on Ferrara in 1482—Orsini and Colonna—Family Feuds in Rome—Sixtus IV. at War with Naples—Battle at Campo Morto, August 1482—Death of Robert Malatesta in Rome —Death of Federigo of Urbino, 1482—The Pope makes Peace with Milan—He Abandons Venice—Fresh Quarrel Between the Colonna and Orsini—Execution of Lorenzo Colonna, the Protonotary, 1484—Virginius Orsini and Girolamo Riario attack the Fortresses of the Colonna—Death of Sixtus IV., August 12, 1484.

Instead of occupying himself with the East, Sixtus IV. turned his attention to the Romagna in order to aggrandise his favourite there. This magnificent territory was chosen then, as afterwards, to form the foundations of the fortunes of a papal family. Girolamo, already lord of Imola and Forli, aimed at the acquisition of other towns, such as Faenza, Ravenna and Rimini. In the summer of 1481 he had discussed with Venice an enterprise against Ercole of Este. For the Venetians sought a pretext for making war on the Duke, and even aimed at becoming masters of Ferrara. The Pope not only sanctioned their proceeding, but even encouraged the war against the vassals of the Church, in order first to make use of the Venetians, then to outwit them and acquire possession of Ferrara for Girolamo. War with Ferrara thus

broke out in 1482,[1] and set the whole of Italy aflame. Such had been the intention of the Pope, and with the aid of Venice he also hoped to acquire Naples for Girolamo. But while Ercole was attacked by Venice, he found allies in almost all the remaining powers—Naples, which was related to him by marriage, Milan and Florence, the Gonzaga of Mantua, the Bentivogli of Bologna, Federigo of Urbino all turned to him, all terrified by the aims of the Pope. The ancient factions also re-appeared in Rome, the Savelli and Colonna against the Church; the Orsini on her side and against her hereditary enemies. War with Ferrara, 1482.

The quarrel with these noble houses had broken out afresh in the thirst for revenge. For other families, the Valle, Santa Croce and Margani, had allowed themselves to be drawn into the feud. One day in 1480 the wealthy Pietro Marganus, who was related to Girolamo, was stabbed in front of his door by Prospero Santa Croce.[2] The murder severed Rome into two parties; the Valle found support in the Colonna, the Santa Croce in the Orsini. The most furious civil war raged throughout the city until it was quelled by the tribunal of peace, and the hostile barons obeyed Ferrante's summons and lent him their swords for the expulsion of the Turks. They took service in Alfonso's camp, and even after the deliverance of Otranto many remained in Neapolitan Family feuds in Rome.

[1] It is circumstantially described by a contemporary, Peter of Corsica: *De Bello Ferrariensi*, Murat., xxi.

[2] Infessura, p. 1148. Jacob. Volaterran., p. 112. The Palazzo Margani still stands in the Region Campitelli.

pay. But the war with Ferrara once more set the Roman factions in revolt. The Pope recalled the barons from the King's army; the Orsini obeyed his command; the Savelli and Colonna remained for the most part under Alfonso's banner, for Sixtus offered them lower pay than that received by the Orsini. On the night of April 3, 1482, the Santa Croce attacked the Palazzo Valle with 200 armed men, and Geronimo Colonna, a bastard son of the city prefect Antonio, was murdered. The Pope excommunicated the criminals, but the disturbances increased when Alfonso of Calabria appeared in the State of the Church. In order to discover the ends that the Pope had in view, Ferrante had demanded a free passage through the papal territory on the Tronto for the army which Alfonso was leading to the aid of his brother-in-law at Ferrara. The Pope refusing the request, Alfonso advanced in hostile attitude as far as the Latin mountains, while Neapolitan vessels anchored in front of Ostia.[1] Lorenzo Colonna, feudal lord of Marino, and the Savelli there took their stand; they scoured the country as far as Rome, even penetrating into the city on May 30.[2] The Pope had placed troops here under command of Girolamo, and he was joined by the despots of Mirandola and Camerino, and some members of the house of Conti, Giovanni Colonna of Palestrina and the kinsfolk of the Orsini, more especially Niccolò of Pitigliano, Paul, Jordan, and Virginius, a man of great military

Alfonso of Calabria before Rome.

[1] Petrus Cyrnaeus, p. 1203. Infessura, 1149. Navagiero, *Storia Venetiana*, Murat., xxiii. 1173.

[2] *Diario di Roma del Notajo di Nantiporto*, Murat., iii. ii. 1071.

experience. This celebrated house was now again vigorous, and was possessed of great stretches of country extending from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Lago Fucino. The four sons of Carlo Orsini, Cardinal Latino, Bishop John of Trani, and the celebrated captains Napoleon and Robert (called the knight Orsini) had died within a short interval of one another; the line, however, was continued by Virginius, lord of Bracciano and only son of Napoleon.[1]

Power of the Orsini. Virginius Orsini.

After having recovered from their overthrow under Eugenius IV., the Colonna strove with renewed eagerness to attain fresh power. They were divided into two branches, hostile to one another, that of Palestrina and that of Paliano-Genazzano. Stephen, head of the former, had rebuilt Palestrina, and was careful to shield himself against fresh misfortunes. His sons Jordan and John consequently remained adherents of the Pope. The Colonna of Paliano also hesitated to declare in favour of Naples, but the Pope or his nephew urged them to do so, and partly by force, partly by persuasion, Duke Alfonso induced them to join him. The heads of this branch were the sons of the brothers Antonio Prince of Salerno and of Odoardo Duke of the Marsi. The sons of Antonio were Pierantonio, the afterwards celebrated Prospero, lord of Paliano, and John, whom Sixtus IV. created Cardinal of S. Maria in Aquiro on May 15, 1480; those of Odoardo, the Proto-notary Lorenzo, lord of Alba, and Fabrizio, lord of Genazzano,

The power of the Colonna.

Prospero, Lorenzo, and Fabrigio Colonna.

[1] Sabellicus, *Histor. Venet. IV.*, lib. i. 447. Napoleon Orsini died at Vicovaro, September 2, 1480. Jacob. Volaterran., p. 111.

destined to become one of the first generals of his time. Ferrante had reinstated the latter in all their rights in the Marsian territory on November 15, 1480, and, in reward for their services against the Turks at Otranto, had promised them Alba and Avezzano. And it was the possession of this district that formed the standing grounds of quarrel with the Orsini.

The Proto-notary Lorenzo was at Marino, Cardinal John in Rome. Prospero also served in the pay of the Church. Sixtus required him to surrender his fortresses; he refused, and, dismissed in disgrace, withdrew to Alfonso's camp. His conduct so irritated the Pope, that on June 2 he caused Cardinal Colonna, Cardinal Giambattista Savelli and his brother Mariano to be imprisoned in S. Angelo.[1] Meanwhile Alfonzo encamped near Marino; but the fortress was not confided to him. From here he harassed Rome just at harvest time, and thus drove the Romans to despair, while Sixtus, in dread that the city might rise, ordered his troops to encamp inside the walls, even to the very gate of S. Giovanni. The most venerated churches, the Lateran itself, were profaned by the soldiery; the officers played dice on the altars and caroused in the sacristies. Terracina meanwhile fell under the power of the Neapolitans; but the summer months passed without matters coming to open warfare. At length Robert Malatesta appeared in Rome with Venetian archers, and the Proveditore Diedo brought

Robert Malatesta, general of the Church.

[1] The Cardinal was accused of treacherous correspondence with Alfonso. Navagiero, p. 1173.

money for the acquisition of other troops. The arrival of the lord of Rimini filled the papal party with confidence. He made his abode in S. Maria Maggiore, where the Duke of Calabria sent a herald, who greeted him in derision as Canon of that Church. Preparations were made for the campaign; several Romans even placed themselves under the flag of the youthful Malatesta, whom the Pope made his general. On August 15 the army marched in review before Sixtus, who sat in a window of the Vatican; it was a numerous force, formed of cross-bowmen, musketeers, artillery, cavalry, and more than 9000 infantry, commanded by experienced captains and feudal lords, especially the Orsini. On August 18 Malatesta moved his camp from beside the aqueducts at the Porta S. Giovanni, and marched towards the Alban mountains amid the curses of the Romans; for during four entire months the papal troops had turned the whole of the Region Monti into a hot-bed of pestilence.

Alfonso now advanced from Civita Lavinia against Astura, where he encamped beside S. Pietro in Formis on August 20. Along the coast stretched meadows and marshes covered with wood, exhaling such deadly vapours that the district was known as the Campo Morto, and even down to latest times it has afforded an asylum to murderers.[1] Within Roman territory there is no district so unhealthy as these Maremma wastes of S. Pietro in Formis, Conca, Verposa, Fusignano and Astura. In the

Campo Morto and S. Pietro in Formis.

[1] Leo XII. again ratified it as an asylum; not until Pius IX. was the privilege abolished.

Middle Ages a fortified farm stood here for the breeding of buffaloes and cattle, and this *castrum* received from its church the name of S. Pietro, from its moats or drains the suffix *in Formis*.[1]

The Duke of Calabria, with an insignificant force, more especially deficient in infantry, took up his position near the tower of Campo Morto, which the swamps made difficult of access.[2] His camp was strong, but was not long tenable on account of the unhealthiness of the air, and as early as August 21 the Malatesta opened hostilities. The battle of the Pontine Marshes was fought almost on the same days of August as the battle of Tagliacozzo two hundred and fourteen years before. The war-cry of Anjou had now become that of Aragon, the house to which Manfred was related by marriage and which now also owned Sicily. The houses of Orsini, Colonna, Conti, Savelli and Anibaldi, still at war with one another, fought with one or other camp; even Moslem cavalry took part, in the shape of bodies of janissaries from Otranto in the service of Alfonso. The day would have been decided in

Alfonso defeated at the Campo Morto, Aug. 21, 1482.

[1] In Saec. XIII. the Frangipani received it from the convent of S. Alessio on the Aventine; from them it passed into the hands of the Anibaldi and Savelli, until Eugenius IV. gave it to Antonio Rido. In 1448 Rido sold it to the Vatican basilica, which still retains it. On July 12, 1448, Nicholas V. sanctioned the sale of S. Pietro in Formis to the Chapter of S. Peter for 9000 ducats. *Bullar. Vatican*, ii. 117.

[2] *In loco S. Pietro in Forma,—qui vulg. vocatur la Torre di Campo morto, qui vere ei mortem intulit:* Infessura. P. Cyrnaeus also, at the time in Venice, where the Pope sent the news of the battle, calls the place by the same name. Nibby erroneously says that the name was given in consequence of the battle. (Analisi, on the Campo Morto.)

favour of the duke, had not Jacopo Conti attacked him in the rear with a numerous body of infantry. And the infantry decided the issue; with it Malatesta attacked the entrenchments of the enemy, who dispersed in flight. The duke abandoned his camp and several noble prisoners to the victors; he fled through the wood to Nettuno, where he took boat to gain Terracina. Not for a long time had any battle been fought by the Italians with the like seriousness; more than one thousand were killed between the two sides.[1] The Pope rejoiced; he sent the glad news to Venice, where the victory was celebrated with illuminations.

On August 24 Malatesta entered Rome in triumph. He was ill of malaria, and died in the Palazzo Nardini, now the Palazzo del Governo Vecchio, on September 10. The brave son of Gismondo was buried with due honours in S. Peter's.[2] His heir Pandolfo being still a child, the Pope hoped to deprive him of Rimini and hastily sent Girolamo thither, but the Florentines protected the widow.

Death of Robert Malatesta, Sept. 10, 1482.

[1] Machiavelli, viii. c. 23. Infessura, p. 1156, Jacob. Volaterr., p. 174, Petrus Cyrnaeus, p. 1204, and the Florentine account of August 30, 1482, in *Atti e Memorie della deputaz. di storia Patria per le provin. Modenesi e Parmensi*, Modena, 1863, i. 261.

[2] He was already ill at Valmontone, where Sixtus sent him his physician on September 2: Marini, *Archiatri*, i. 209, and App. n. 67. Caleffini records his death on September 10. He also records the death of Federigo at Ferrara on the same day.—On Malatesta's catafalque were the words: *Veni, vidi, vici. Victoriam Sixto dedi. Mors invidit gloriae.* Notajo di Nantiporto, p. 1078. The Pope had an equestrian statue erected to him in S. Peter's, with a pompous inscription: Sigismondo dei Conti, *Historiar. sui Temporis*, i. 142 (Rome, 1883).

Death of Federigo of Urbino, Sept. 10, 1482.

Isabetta, daughter of Federigo of Urbino, received simultaneously the news of the deaths of both husband and father, which had taken place the same day, one in Rome, the other at Ferrara. Guidobaldo, the last of the illustrious line of Montefeltro, succeeded the great Federigo on the ducal throne of Urbino.[1]

The victory of Campo Morto nevertheless did not produce the results expected; for the Neapolitan cavalry still occupied many fortresses in Latium and even scoured the country from Rocca di Papa to Rome. Sixtus was weary of the war; the powers interposed in defence of Ferrara; the Emperor even threatened a council at Basle, and since the Pope himself did not desire the aggrandisement of Venice, he resolved to abandon his allies. Owing to the mediation of the Emperor a truce was concluded in Rome as early as November 28, 1482, between the Pope, Naples, Milan and Florence, the express object of which was to defend Ferrara and impose a check on Venice. With the utmost assurance Sixtus wrote to the Doge, assuring him that, urged by necessity, he had acted solely for the welfare of the Church; he threw all the blame on the Venetians, and exhorted them to desist from making war on Ferrara, the vassal state of the

Truce concluded in Rome, Nov. 28, 1482.

[1] By Battista Sforza, Federigo had Guidobaldo I. and eight daughters. Of these Isabetta was married to Robert Malatesta, and Agnesina to Fabrizio Colonna, by whom she became mother of the celebrated Vittoria. Joanna, another daughter, was wife of Giovanni della Rovere, and through her the Rovere family inherited Urbino.

Church.[1] The city of Rome celebrated festivals of peace. On December 13 Sixtus went to the Church of S. Maria della Virtù and baptised it "della Pace"; on Christmas Eve peace with the Italian powers was proclaimed in S. Peter's. The delighted citizens went in procession on horseback by torchlight to the Pope, when boys, clad as nymphs, were to recite verses. But Sixtus, filled with suspicion, declined to receive the procession, and consequently offended the Romans. The following day the Duke of Calabria came with a huge retinue, among which were some Turks, and took up his abode in the Vatican. And the Pope thus formed an alliance with Naples, against the same Venice which but a short time before he had instigated to make war on Ferrara. Alfonso left Rome on December 30 to march to Ferrara with the blessing of his enemy. No one knew why so much blood had been shed.

Sixtus IV. forms an alliance with Naples against Venice.

The Carnival festivities were celebrated with great magnificence in February 1483; even a chase of wild animals was given as a treat, when the constables of several regions fought hand to hand. Combats such as these were fought on every opportunity. When on January 24, 1483, the remains of the Camerlengo Estouteville were carried to S. Agostino, the monks of S. Maria Maggiore and the brethren of the Augustinian monastery assaulted

[1] The letter was written at the instigation of the ambassador of Ferdinand of Castile, Rome, December 11, 1482: Petr. Cyrn., p. 1209.—See the letters of the Pope and the Cardinal's College to the Doge and replies in Sigismondo dei Conti, iv. 188 f.

one another with the huge funeral torches, because the Augustinians wished to steal the gold brocade in which the dead cardinal was robed. Numerous swords were drawn, and it was with difficulty that the body of the celebrated prince of the Church was rescued and borne to the sacristy, where, however, it was straightway plundered.[1] To a tranquil spectator the Rome of this period, with its innumerable cavalcades, pagan spectacles and daily battles in the streets, must have appeared like a lunatic asylum in disguise.

In February 1483 all the cities occupied by the Neapolitans, especially Benevento and Terracina, were restored to the Church. The release of Cardinals Colonna and Savelli, who were still in confinement, had been stipulated, but the Pope delayed it until November 15.[2] The same day he made Giambattista Orsini Cardinal; he also bestowed the purple on Giovanni Conti, Jacopo Sclafetani of Parma, and in March 1484, on the score of the relationship of Count Riario to the house of Sforza, on Ascanio Sforza, son of Duke Francesco. The reconciliation between Orsini and Colonna was, nevertheless, insincere; the Colonna were hated by Count Riario, the now all-powerful tyrant of Rome, a hard

Ascanio Sforza Cardinal, March 1484.

[1] Estouteville had acquired Nemi, Genzano and Civita Lavinia, which he presented to his sons Geronimo and Agostino *de Extotavilla* on August 10, 1481. See his will in the Archives Notarile of the Capitol. He left two daughters, Margherita and Catarina. The office of chamberlain passed to Rafaelle Riario.

[2] See the letter of consolation from Franc. Maturanzo to Card. Savelli on his release, and Savelli's answer, in Vermiglioli, *Memorie di Jacopo Antiquari*, Perugia, 1813, pp. 373 and 378 (*Cod. Vat.*, 5358).

and cruel man, covetous of power. He and the Pope formed a close alliance with the Orsini, and made use of this family to work the fall of the Colonna. This house had been disgracefully abandoned by the King of Naples, who had not safeguarded it in the treaty of peace against the revenge of the enemy, the affairs of the Savelli and Colonna having been left to the discretion of the Pope. Lorenzo Colonna, it is true, had been reinstated in possession of Marino; he was, however, obliged to restore Alba to Virginius Orsini for 14,000 ducats.[1] The Pope altered these articles of treaty to the disadvantage of the Colonna, who in their suspicion would not surrender the Marsian territory, and in January 1484 the Orsini began the fray by driving Antonello Savelli from Albano. The factions flew to arms. On February 21 the Valle stabbed their enemy Francesco Santa Croce; they barricaded their palace; the Orsini barricaded Monte Giordano; the city resounded to the cries of "Church and Orso!" The Colonna rose in arms after Oddo had arrived with numerous vassals in the city on April 28; they

War in Rome between the Colonna and Orsini.

[1] From the Colonna and Orsini Archives: on February 2, 1432, Joanna II. confirms Odoardo Colonna in the possession of Alba and Celano (44 fortresses) as duchy. In 1459, the Colonna, as adherents of Anjou, lost Celano. In 1463 Ferrante I. gives Celano to Ant. Piccolomini. On March 20, 1464, he ratifies Napol. and Robert Orsini in possession of Tagliacozzo and Alba. On December 29, 1465, he ratifies Jordan and Lorenzo Colonna, sons of Odoardo, as Dukes of the Marsi, and afterwards deprives them of this territory. On May 6, 1466, he restores Tagliacozza and Alba to Napol. and Robert Orsini. On November 15, 1480, he restores Alba and Avezzano to the Colonna. On June 20, 1484, he invests Virginius Orsini and his son John Jordan with Tagliacozzo.

barred the entrance to their palace. When the conservators now hastened to the Pope to prevent civil war, he requested Lorenzo the Protonotary to appear in person before him. Lorenzo was warned that there were designs on his life. Ready to sacrifice himself, he rode three times from his palace, intending to go to the Vatican, and three times his friends forced him to return. "Well," cried the unfortunate man, with tears, "you desire your own and my overthrow!" The Pope now commanded the Protonotary to be brought by force of arms. Virginius and Girolamo immediately proceeded to the Quirinal on May 30: heralds announced that all who had rendered aid to the Colonna had fallen under the ban. The barricades were stormed, and brands thrown into the palace stables. Wounded in the hand, Lorenzo sat on a chest, while the savage enemy forced an entrance; he surrendered to Virginius. Filippo Savelli and others were murdered, and the Protonotary was led forth with angry shouts. Several times Count Riario would have thrust his dagger into his body, had not Virginius, who led the prisoner by the hand, prevented him. Lorenzo was first brought to the Pope and then imprisoned in S. Angelo.[1]

Attack on the Colonna quarter.

The papal troops sacked houses and churches in the quarter of the Colonna and the Quirinal; the celebrated Pomponio Leto, who dwelt there, was even robbed of his precious books. At the Pope's command the palaces of the Colonna and Valle were

[1] These events are also circumstantially narrated by Sig. dei Conti, iv. i.

pulled down. The Orsini managed to involve many enemies in the trial: officials were imprisoned; wealthy persons were laid under contribution; others were executed. Jacopo Conti, lord of Monte-fortino, who had distinguished himself at Campo Morto and had then gone over to the Colonna, was beheaded. Papal troops under Paul Orsini and Geronimo Estouteville, a bastard son of the Cardinal, marched against Marino, where Fabrizio Colonna and Antonello Savelli vigorously defended themselves. In vain the popular Council sent deputies from the Capitol to the Pope to urge him to reconciliation with the Colonna. Count Riario would not hear of it; he insulted Cardinal Julian Rovere himself when the Cardinal sheltered some nobles in his palace, and expressed his indignation at the deeds of violence of which Girolamo had been the author. The Colonna also sent envoys to the Pope, professing themselves ready to surrender Marino, Ardea and Rocca di Papa. "I will take all their fortresses by storm," said the nephew. He extorted money from the churches, even from the college of the papal scriptors and from that of the Stradioti.[1] The Pope had artillery prepared for the siege of Marino; he blessed the cannons on the vigil of S.

Suit against the Colonna.

[1] Infessura says of Sixtus IV.: *multa et inexcogitata in Curia Rom. officia adinvenit, et vendidit his, qui Scytharum vocabula denominabantur Stradioti, Janizzeri et Mamaluki* (p. 1183). This class of papal servants, designated by Turkish names, belonged to the category of *uffizi vacabili* or venal offices. The post of janissary was sold for 1100 ducats and yielded 120 a year. P. Woker, *Das Kirchliche Finanzwesen der Päpste*, 1878, p. 3 f. Innocent VIII. abolished the Mamelukes. Pauvin, *Vita Sixti IV.*, p. 262.

John, with upraised hands entreating God to grant him victory. The unchristian attitude which he here displayed must have filled every noble-minded man with disgust. The war raged throughout Latium. It was in vain that, in order to save his brother, Fabrizio surrendered Marino to the Pope on June 25. The death of the Protonotary was resolved on. Promises were to be kept no longer. On June 30, half an hour before sunset, Lorenzo was led to the lower court of S. Angelo; he listened tranquilly to his sentence, protested his innocence, and retracted the admissions extorted from him on the rack. He uttered not a single word of indignation against the Pope; on the contrary he sent his respectful greetings. He laid his head on the block and received his death-blow. His body was first taken to S. Maria Transpontina, then to the SS. Apostoli, where his mother and other women received the remains of the dead amid loud lamentations; his mother had the coffin opened; she surveyed the scars inflicted by the rack; she held up the severed head by the hair, and exclaimed, "See, such is the faith of the Pope!"[1]

War against the Colonna in Latium.

Lorenzo Colonna executed, June 30, 1484.

Virginius and Riario marched at once against the Colonna in Latium. The Pope determined to ruin these barons by means of his nephew, in order to

Virginius and Riario lay siege to the fortresses of the Colonna.

[1] *Questa è la testa del mio figlio, e la fede di Papa Sisto, che ci promesse, come lassassimo Marino, ci lassarebbe el mio figliulo: Alegretto Alegretti Diar. Sanesi*, p. 817. Infessura, who buried him with his own hands, does not mention this scene: the *Notajo di Nantiporto* says that the mother received the corpse: *in santo Apostolo aspettò la madre con moltissime femine e gli fece gran lamento.*

bestow their property upon him. Cave surrendered on July 27; Capranica soon after. Prospero remained with an insignificant force at Palliano, supported by some of the Gaetani and the citizens of Aquila, which stood under his protection. By sorties he reduced the besiegers to such distress that Count Girolamo sent to Rome urgently entreating aid. Sixtus IV. now saw with dismay that the extirpation of the Colonna was an impossibility. The envoys of the Italian powers added to his discomfiture. Tired of the war with Venice, without consulting him they concluded peace with the excommunicated republic on August 7, 1484, at Bagnolo. The articles of the treaty, which were entirely favourable to the Venetians, were brought to Rome by the envoys on the 11th. It is said that Sixtus IV., who had hoped to reap great advantages for Girolamo from the war, and who suddenly beheld the failure of his hopes, gave way to such transports of rage that he brought on a fatal attack of fever. He died the following day, August 12, 1484.[1]

Peace of Bagnolo, Aug. 7, 1484.

Death of Sixtus IV., Aug. 12, 1484.

The pronouncedly worldly character of Sixtus IV.—a vigorous, even appalling individuality—furnished the standard for the judgment of contemporaries. Among these the Roman Infessura has expressed himself with greatest bitterness. He says that the day on which God delivered Christendom from the hands of such a man was to be accounted supremely happy. Sixtus cherished no love for his

[1] Marin Sanuto, *Duchi di Ven.*, Mur., xxii. 1234. Infessura, p. 1182. He remained almost fifteen hours as if dead. Bruti, *Florent. Hist.*, lib. viii. 419.

people, was filled with sensuality, avarice, ostentation and vanity. He sold all the offices of the Church for money, trafficked in corn, imposed taxes, sold justice; faithless and cruel, he caused innumerable deaths by his wars.[1]

As head of his State, Sixtus IV. was assuredly one of the most intriguing princes of his time. Ambition and nepotism were the guiding motives of his restless policy of conquest. The Curia was disgraced by traffic in all sacred things and by the most shameless avarice. Any means of raising money were held admissible. Sixtus used to say that the Pope required nothing but pen and ink to procure any sum he pleased.[2]

The conspiracy of the Pazzi, the war with Ferrara, his treacherous dealings with the Colonna, the names of Pietro and Girolamo Riario are enough to show the abyss into which the political Papacy had fallen. There is but a short step between the nepotism of Sixtus IV. and that of Alexander VI. Sixtus pointed out the way to his successor. Had his nephews possessed the Borgia character, or had the existing conditions of Italy in his time already been disturbed by a French invasion, his reign would probably have been as utterly disastrous in the

[1] A short time before his death, says Infessura, he caused two of the members of his bodyguard to fight a duel, which he watched from the window. That this is not a fiction is shown by the *Notajo*, p. 1083. Infessura (see text in Eccard) brings horrible accusations against the morality of Sixtus IV.

[2] *Soleva dire Sisto IV.: che al papa bastava sola la mano con la penna e l'inchiostro, per avere quella somma che vuole.* Thus the Venetian ambassador Soriano, in Alberi, ii. iii. 330.

history of Italy and Rome as was the reign of Alexander VI. We must not forget that it was the era of the monarchic impulse, when on the extinction of the republics the territorial princes were forced to do battle with the great and petty feudal tyrants; and the popes, as owners of a state, could not avoid the contest. Voices were heard demanding a council which should pronounce Sixtus IV. a pope "devoid of conscience and religion," and he may well have dreaded such a tribunal. And a man, whose judgment was not influenced by republican sympathies as Infessura's were, the celebrated Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo, dates the era of corruption as beginning with Sixtus.[1] He found admirers in foreign countries unacquainted with the daily chronicles of Rome. He had also—a fact concerning which Infessura, his bitter enemy, is silent—rendered undoubted services to the State of the Church, where he enforced the code of Albornoz. And as we shall presently show, he rendered still greater services to the city, which he not only adorned with monuments, and endowed with several public institutions, but which, with praise-

[1] *Ex eo coeptum tempus est: sacris non numinis, sed nummi, non salutis sed voluptatis. Hist. XX. saec. Cod. Angelic*, p. 313.—Panvinius, *Vita Sixti IV.*—The opinion of the people is given by the most ingenuous of all the Roman chroniclers, Paolo di Ponte (Captain of the regions about 1452): *fu un cattivo pontefice sempre ci mantenne in guerra, carestia e poca giustizia.* The time of Sixtus IV. is described by Baptista Mantuanus, lib. iii. *de Calamitatib. tempor:*

venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, corone,
Ignes, tura, preces, coelum est venale, deusque.

worthy zeal, he was the first to render habitable.[1] His care also extended to the cultivation of the Campagna. He was learned and respected learning. Deserving of utter detestation as head of the Christian religion, Sixtus IV. possessed those great qualities that distinguished the Italian rulers of the time. To this vigorous type of tyrant he belonged entirely. We may say that he was the first true pope-king. More thoroughly than ever he or Riario pursued it was his policy continued by Alexander VI. and Caesar Borgia.

[1] Principally on this account Monstrelet calls him "*Zélateur de tout bien.*" The most favourable portrait of Sixtus has been drawn by Jacob. Volaterranus, who refrains, however, from passing judgment on the Pope. Jacopo was grateful to Sixtus, who had made him apostolic secretary. Erich Frantz, *Sixtus IV. und die Republik Florenz.*, Ratisbon, 1880, has recently attempted to glorify this Pope. Pastor, who defends him against the accusations of Infessura, has drawn special attention as regards the black side of his character to his nepotism, which "involved him in a labyrinth of political complications, from which there was at length scarcely any outlet to be found" (ii. 555).

CHAPTER IV.

1. Disturbances in Rome — Girolamo, the Orsini and Colonna come to the City—Departure of Riario—Innocent VIII., Cibò becomes Pope, August 29, 1484—His Children—Conspiracy of the Barons in Naples—Robert Sanseverino, Papal Captain-General—War with Naples—Peace, August 1486—Anarchic condition of Rome — Venality of Justice — Marriage of Franceschetto Cibò with Maddalena Medici —Murder of Girolamo Riario at Forli, April 1488—Catarina Sforza—Nephews of Cibò.

The death of Sixtus IV. was the signal for the insurrection of the adverse party, which had been so long suppressed. Rome was filled with wildest tumult. Hell seemed to be let loose. Friends and enemies, barons, citizens and cardinals barricaded their houses, while the people, in their indignation at the grasping rule of Sixtus's nephews, sacked the palace of Riario near S. Apollinare and plundered the granaries and the banks of the Genoese money-changers.[1] On August 14, however, on the news of the Pope's death, Girolamo and Virginius hurried by forced marches to Rome, leaving in their hasty flight their camp at Palliano to the enemy. The cardinals

[1] Despatches of Guidantonio Vespucci to Lorenzo de Medici, in Vol. i., App., of the edition of Burkard's *Diary* by Thuasne (1883).

ordered them to remain at Torre del Quinto; but Catarina, Girolamo's brave wife, threw herself into S. Angelo, to hold it for her husband. With like haste came the Colonna thirsting for revenge, first the Cardinal, whom the people conducted with rejoicing to his palace near Trevi, then Prospero and Fabrizio, the Savelli and other Ghibellines. The nephew Girolamo despaired of retaining further influence over the Papacy and Rome; he withdrew to the Orsini at Isola.[1] Barricades were erected throughout the entire city. Squadrons of cavalry from Monte Giordano rode through the streets with the cry, "Orsini and the Church"; their opponents from the SS. Apostoli rushed through the Campo Marzo with shouts of "Colonna!" Civil war seemed imminent. Even Florence and Siena promised to aid the Colonna against the hated Riario. The authorities assembled the citizens on the Capitol and exhorted the cardinals to the speedy election of a new pope.

The obsequies of the late pontiff did not begin until August 17. Only eleven cardinals attended;[2] for Cibò, Savelli, Colonna and Julian Rovere, who remained entrenched beside S. Pietro in Vincoli, and Ascanio Sforza, the youngest member of the Sacred College, who had travelled from Milan in four days, asserted that S. Angelo barred their way. At length the hostile parties agreed to an armistice; Girolamo

[1] Infessura. With the death of Sixtus IV. begins Burkard's celebrated *Diarium*, which, however, for the entire reign of Innocent VIII. is little more than a register of ceremonies.

[2] *Conclavi dei Pont. Rom.*, *Colon.* 1691, i. 120.

pledged himself to surrender S. Angelo for 4000 ducats, whereupon the Orsini retired to Viterbo, the Colonna to Latium and Girolamo to his territories. These events took place on August 25, and on the following day the conclave in the Vatican began.

The twenty-five cardinals were divided into two parties: on one side Borgia, Aragon, Orsini; on the other the Venetians, Cibò, Colonna and Rovere. Borgia believed himself so secure of election, that he caused his palace to be barricaded to prevent its being sacked.[1] The capitulations of election were drawn up and sworn to. They still further limited the supremacy of the Pope. They made over to the cardinals every office of importance in the state, so that the lay elements dwindled more and more, and it became exclusively a sacerdotal state.[2] Votes were openly and unblushingly acquired. Palaces, offices and revenues, fortresses and legations were promised. When Ascanio and Aragon failed with Borgia, they sold their votes to Cibò, who was proclaimed Innocent VIII. on August 29, 1484. His election was more especially the work of Julian Rovere, who had gained him adherents by bribes and bids. Innocent VIII. Pope, 1484–1492.

Giovanni Battista, son of Arano Cibò and Teodorina da Mare, was born in Genoa in 1432.

[1] Vespucci's report to Lorenzo Medici: Fabroni, *Vita Laur.*, p. 256.

[2] *Voveo—quod in spiritualib. et temporalib., quae graviora sunt—nullam jurisdictionem—dabo cuique hominum laico.* Only clerical Castellans were to reside in the chief fortresses. Each cardinal stipulated for the possession of a fortress. For the complete terms, see Burkard.

His father, the confidant of Calixtus III., had filled the senatorial office in Rome in 1455, and had attained prominence under René as viceroy of Naples. The son had also served the Angevin and then become a priest. Paul II. made him Bishop of Savona, Sixtus IV. Bishop of Molfetta and Cardinal in 1473. Cibò was a tall and handsome man, and though not devoid of learning was conspicuous by neither talent nor wealth.[1] He owed his career to his genial character and to his skill in flattery. He candidly acknowledged himself the father of a numerous family, with which he had been presented in his youth by a Neapolitan. Roman satire made it the subject of pungent epigrams.[2] His son Franceschetto passed as his nephew.

Innocent VIII. assumed the government amid conditions of greater difficulty than those to which kings are accustomed. While monarchs succeed to an inherited system, almost every pope ascended the

[1] *Di non molto letteratura, ma pur non è in tutto ignorante:* Vespucci to Lorenzo Medici, August 1484 (Burcard, ed. Thuasne, i. 518).

[2] The following is ascribed to the poet Marullus :

Exhausit Sixtus bellis et caedibus Urbem
Tercentena haeres restituit sobole.
Quid quaeris testes, sit mas an foemina Cibo?
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem.
Octo Nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas,
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.

Burkard is only aware of two children of Innocent VIII., Francesco and Teodorina, who were alive during his Papacy. See the genealogical tree in Giorgio Viani, *Storia e monete di Massa*, 1808. Egidius of Viterbo : *primus pontificum filios filiasque palam ostentavit, primus eorum apertas fecit nuptias.* Hist. XX. *Saecul. Mscr.*

throne as the opponent of the system of his predecessor. The constitution of the Cardinal's College was the sole bond which held the Roman priesthood together on the death of a pope, and this college would have fallen asunder on each occasion, had not the fear of tyrants induced the city to remain faithful to the Church. Above all, the obedience of Rome was important. This city, which lived solely on the wealth of the Curia, still retained a vestige of her constitution; she still secured her rights by a capitulation of election of her own, by which each new pope pledged himself to bestow all Roman offices and benefices only on Roman citizens. It was undoubtedly difficult for the Pope to abide sincerely by his promise to the city when confronted with the claims of greedy prelates, and he unhesitatingly placed his relations and friends in the list of citizens, in order to enrich them at the cost of the Romans. It was consequently said in Rome that Innocent VIII. trod in the footsteps of Sixtus IV., who had succeeded to the throne by bribery.

War between the Colonna and Orsini.

Party hatred forthwith plunged Rome in confusion; for the Colonna rose in 1485, to make war on the Orsini and to avenge the acts of injustice which they had suffered under Sixtus IV. Innocent cited both factions to appear before the Peace tribunal, and since the Colonna showed themselves the more compliant to them, he turned. The affairs of Naples soon also became involved in the wars of these families. While a cardinal, Innocent had been hostile to the house of Aragon; as pope, he

would not renounce the feudal rights which his predecessor had relinquished. On June 28, 1485, he sent back the white palfrey and demanded the customary tribute. Ferrante and his terrible son Alfonso were in the act of carrying out their design of freeing themselves from the burthen of the baronial system. For hundreds of feudal lords mocked at the authority of the state, constantly threatened to summon Anjou or France, and made all legal government impossible. The King's plan reached maturity in the summer of 1485. The threatened barons invoked the Pope's protection, and not in vain. His all-powerful counsellor, Julian Rovere, who had made him pope and now ruled him, drew him into this—the most terrible drama of the fifteenth century—"the conspiracy of the barons." Julian hated the Spaniards, to whom his adversaries, Ascanio and Aragon, adhered, and leaned towards an alliance with France. He represented to the Pope that it would be for the advantage of the Church to render Naples more dependent on the papal chair.[1] One of the leaders of the barons, Antonello Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, was brother-in-law to his brother Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome, who owned the fief of Sora in the kingdom of Naples. Negotiations were entered into with Genoa and also with the Venetians, who were promised possession of some Neapolitan ports. The barons, through their envoys, formed an alliance with the Pope, who pledged himself to take them under his protection

[1] Camillo Porzio, *Congiura de' Baroni*, i. c. 13.

and to summon René of Lorraine to the throne of Naples.[1]

The rebellion of Aquila opened the war; on October 17, 1485, this city appealed to the protection of the Church, whose banner it raised. Both sides formed their alliances; Florence and Milan took the part of Naples; Genoa and Venice that of the Pope. At the end of October, Robert Sanseverino, whom the Venetians had permitted to enter the papal service, came to Rome, and Innocent made him Gonfaloniere of the Church. This good-natured old man had come with his two sons, one of whom, Gasparo, was called Fracassa on account of his intrepidity. The Orsini took pay from Duke Alfonso, and scoured the country from Nomentum to Rome. On both sides of the Tiber the war raged between Orsini and Colonna, who with the Savelli adhered to the Pope. But Innocent showed himself utterly weak and useless. When the Orsini (whose palace on Monte Giordano had been set on fire one night by Cardinal Julian) advanced to the gates, and the report spread that Alfonso had set forth, the Pope summoned all excommunicated persons, even men condemned for murder, into the service of the Church, and Rome

Conspiracy of the barons in Naples, 1485.

[1] The old King René, through his wife Isabel, formerly lord of Lorraine (he died July 10, 1480), bequeathed his claims on Naples to Charles of Anjou-Maine, his brother's son. This last representative of the house of Anjou died childless in 1481, and left Anjou as well as Provence to Lewis XI. René left two daughters, Margaret, wife of Henry VI. of England, and Iolante, heiress of Lorraine, widow of Count Frederick Vaudemont. She died in 1483. Her son was René of Lorraine and Bar.

was soon filled with crowds of infamous characters. It was solely due to the vigilance of Julian (who, clad in armour, was seen superintending the defence of the walls) that Virginius did not gain an entrance to the city. Virginius hated the restless Cardinal, who was an ally of the Colonna; he swore to carry his head on a lance through the city, and scattered pamphlets against him.[1] By manifestoes he called on the Romans to banish Innocent and elect another pope and other cardinals.[2]

On Christmas day, the army of Sanseverino finally reached Rome, when the general stormed the Ponte Nomentana. His conduct of the war, however, was devoid of vigour. True, he drove the Orsini from Mentana, and, in consequence, the cardinal of the house surrendered Monte Rotondo to the papal troops. The inhabitants of Mentana, however, rose on a false report of the death of the pope, when Innocent caused the fortress to be levelled with the ground.[3] The report had arisen on January 21; Rome was seized with panic; shops were shut; the Capitol was barricaded; every one strove to save his property; the cardinals entrenched themselves in their palaces. The war, meanwhile, was removed to Tuscany, where Sanseverino stormed

[1] He accused him of being *de vitio sodomitico pollutum*, etc.: a common accusation in those corrupt times. Infessura, p. 1199.

[2] *Indignissimum affirmans victorem omnium gentium populum naviculatori* (*sic enim Innocentium appellabat*) *servire.* The Conservators sent this letter to the Pope. *Sigismondo de' Conti, Histor. sui temp.*, v. 241.

[3] Porzio, ii. c. 21.—Brief of Inn. VIII. of January 17, 1486, to Raynerius de Masinis: Borgia, *Storia di Benev.*, iii. 423.

the fortresses of the Orsini, while the city prefect with the barons leaving Benevento advanced to the field, and Fabrizio Colonna entered the Marsian territory to wrest Tagliacozzo from the Orsini. It was only by his means and by the help of the Colonna that the Pope carried on the war. The Venetians sent him no troops. Alfonso already approached Rome; but the Pope had an expedition prepared for terrifying Ferrante. In March 1486 he sent Cardinal Julian to Genoa to fetch René and to treat with Charles of France.[1] The impecunious René showed, indeed, but little zeal for the conquest of Naples, towards which the French monarch only lent his dubious aid after long resistance. Fear at the same time inclined the King of Naples to a compromise, which was achieved through the mediation of Lorenzo Medici and the envoys of King Ferdinand of Aragon, who could scarcely desire to see the French in Italy. The Spanish party in the College of Cardinals urged peace. This party was led by Borgia and opposed by the intriguing Frenchman, Balue, whom Julian Rovere had released from his imprisonment at Loches and Sixtus IV. had brought to Rome and made Cardinal-bishop of Albano. Both Cardinals vituperated one another in offensive language in Consistory.[2]

War of the Pope with Naples.

[1] Instructions of July 4, 1486, in Regis Ferd. I., *Instruction. liber.* (ed. Volpicella, Neap. 1861, p. 34). Burkard says that Julian, with the Pope's knowledge, went secretly, on March 23, by Ostia *navigaturus Januam et Avinionem pro rebus bellicis.*

[2] *Abalius retulit verba vituperosa, videl. illum esse maranum, et filium meretricis, et vitam suam inhonestam: propter quod maximus*

The approach of the Duke of Calabria in the month of June strengthened the desire for peace. In vain he besieged Cervetri and Anguillara, while the Pope recalled Robert Sanseverino (whom he began to regard as a traitor) for the defence of Rome. The French faction, it is true, strove to hinder the peace, but Borgia and Ascanio went to Isola to treat with the Orsini. Alfonso's cavalry already scoured the country as far as Trastevere; then, forced by penury, the duke abandoned the patrimony and crossed the Tiber at Fiano, to gain Latium. The Romans themselves were reduced to such straits as to sue for an armistice. The weak Innocent found himself surrounded solely by traitors, for in Rome all was venal; no castellan could be trusted; suspected persons were imprisoned daily. Finally, he resolved on peace and put an end to René's expedition. On August 11, 1486, Gian-Jacopo Trivulzio his general, and the learned Pontano signed the treaty of peace for King Ferrante; the King pledged himself to pay a yearly tribute of 8000 ducats and promised to pardon Aquila and the rebellious barons.[1]

Peace with Naples, Aug. 11, 1486.

Many cardinals, above all, Julian, were dissatisfied with the peace, since it neither gave any real

tumultus fuit factus in dicto Consistorio. Infessura. Balue, sensual and wicked, died in Ripatransona in 1491. See his portrait in *Card. Papien. Comment.*, viii.

[1] On September 12, 1486, Cardinal Julian returned from his embassy to France (Burkard). On September 24 Ferrante commands his orator, Casale, to thank the Cardinal in Rome for having hindered René's expedition; at the same time he begs for his protection: *Instruction. liber.*

advantage to the Church nor secured her allies against the vengeance of the King. The Roman people alone thanked the Pope sincerely; for the Campagna lay in ruins, and nothing was to be seen but the charred remains of cultivated places and troops of beggars or robbers. Revenge and deeds of violence of every kind, the consequences of these wars, form the stamp of Roman society from the days of Sixtus IV. onwards; and it is not perhaps merely because we possess the minute diaries of two Romans for precisely this period, that this society appears in such an extraordinary state of brutalisation. Rather is it that the Italian character in general, in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, displays a trait of diabolical passion; tyrannicide, conspiracies, deeds of treachery are universal; a criminal selfishness reigns supreme, and a terrible doctrine is evolved, that the end justifies the means. We read with a shudder of the wholesale massacre of the Neapolitan barons, concerning which, after some feeble remonstrances, the weak Pope remained timidly silent. But the massacre excites less horror than the fact that it only produced fear; nowhere indignation. The time of the desecration of the Christian religion was also the epoch of the struggle for the formation of monarchies in Europe. The same traits of fiendish cruelty and egotism are seen in England during the Wars of the Roses, in France under the dominion of Lewis XI., in Spain in the fanaticism of the wars against the Moors. In the history of the Papacy and of the papal nephews the same spirit becomes still

more appalling than at the court of Lewis XI. or Ferrante.

State of anarchy in Rome.

Innocent VIII., having unchained anarchy in the last disastrous war, was no longer able to curb it. Vainly he issued edicts against the assassins and robbers. Each morning revealed the horrors of the night, bodies of men who had been stabbed lying in the streets. Pilgrims and even ambassadors were robbed outside the gates of the city. The judges were either powerless or corrupt. The Pope's family unblushingly sold justice. The Vice-Chamberlain, asked why the malefactors were not punished, answered with a smile, in presence of the historian Infessura, "God wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should live and pay." Criminals, if insolent, were hanged in the Torre di Nona, but were released when they could pay a sum of money to the papal Curia.[1] Murderers without difficulty obtained a safe conduct from the Pope, which allowed them to roam the city with armed men in order to defend themselves against vengeance. Franceschetto Cibò had made a formal treaty with the Vice-Chamberlain, by which every fine above 150 ducats came to himself and only the smaller fell to the Camera. Everyone mocked at justice, and everyone had recourse to the aid of armed men. When Bernardo Sanguigni was stabbed by a Frenchman in the house of Grechetta, a celebrated courtesan of the time, more than forty armed youths sprang from the Palazzo Crescenzi to avenge his death. They burned the house.

[1] Infessura relates that a Roman, who had murdered his two daughters, obtained his liberty for 800 ducats.

More than 2000 people took part in the uproar.[1]

The power and independence of the Cardinals.

At this time every palace was a fortified camp; the dwelling of every cardinal, with the entire quarter that surrounded it, an asylum. These wide and lofty houses still resembled fortresses and were provided with little towers. The heavy portal was closed by an iron-cased door, which, when barred, was not easily forced. It opened into a vaulted entrance hall, which led to a great pillared courtyard with steep stone staircases and loggie on the upper floors, where, as also in the spacious chambers, the cardinal could accommodate several mercenaries armed with muskets. Even artillery was to be found in these palaces. When criminals obtained protection from a cardinal, his "family," weapons in hand, defended them against justice. One day, some young Romans having wounded the followers of Cardinal Ascanio, the cardinal's family sallied forth publicly with projectiles and wounded more than twenty people in the streets. The captain of the Curia, Savelli, intended to execute a criminal in the neighbourhood of the palace of Cardinal Balue; from his window the cardinal prohibited the execution, the spot being within the district of his jurisdiction. The executioner failed to obey, and the cardinal ordered his retainers to attack the court of justice. They sacked it, destroyed the documents and released all the prisoners. The Cardinals Savelli and Colonna hereupon sent troops against

[1] These conditions survived until late in the seventeenth century. But things were no better in all other cities.

their colleague by night; the Pope summoned the combatants to his palace, when they heaped insults on one another. The entirely secular and princely form which the College of Cardinals in general had assumed is especially characteristic of the time of the Renascence. The power of the Cardinals, increased by the accumulation of benefices and by alliance with foreign courts, had become so great that it threatened to subjugate the Papacy. They appear in Rome like revivals of the Senators of antiquity. Almost all, like the Pope himself, were surrounded by a Curia or by nephews. They walked or rode about the city in warlike attire, wearing costly swords at their sides.[1] Almost every cardinal kept several hundred servants, and this household could be augmented by bravi. Added to these were the partisans among the populace, who obtained their living at the Cardinal's court. Almost all these princes of the Church had their factions, and they vied with one another in displaying their magnificence, more especially in cavalcades and in the carnival festivities, when at their own expense they equipped triumphal cars with masques, troops of singers and comedians. The cardinals at this time cast into the shade the Roman nobility, whose parties, however, they espoused.

Innocent had persuaded the Orsini and Colonna to conclude a truce. At first inclined to take the part of the Colonna, he afterwards turned to the side

[1] *Ut quod verum sit Moysis sanctissimi vaticinium: Simon et Levi, vasa iniquitatis:* M. Attilii Alexii Ep. in Baluze, *Miscell.*, iv. 517.

of the Orsini. In 1487 he acquired the hand of Maddalena, a daughter of Lorenzo Medici and of Clarice Orsini, sister of Virginius, for his son Franceschetto, who had returned empty-handed from the Neapolitan war. And the Orsini family thus recovered its lost influence. Lorenzo had also married his son Piero to Alfonsino, daughter of Robert Orsini, lord of Tagliacozzo and Alba, in March 1487. Madonna Clarice, with her son Piero, and a magnificent retinue of several hundred persons on horseback, came to Rome with the bride on November 3, 1487,[1] and the marriage was celebrated in the Vatican on Sunday, January 20, 1488.[2] It entailed the most important results, results which paved the way for the Medici to the papacy. Lorenzo himself, who saw the power of his house tottering in Florence, drew closer to the Church. He immediately rendered it an important service, by helping it to recover possession of Osimo. Boccolino dei Gozzoni had set up as tyrant in this city in April 1486; deprived of support by the peace with Naples, he held negotiations with the Turks, whom he invited to seize the Pentapolis. The Pope sent troops against him under Cardinal

Marriage of Franceschetto Cibò and Maddalena Medici.

[1] Franceschetto's palace stood in the Borgo ; it originally belonged to the Florentine Acciajuoli. In 1489 the Florentine orator Manfredi dwelt there (Burkard).

[2] Deed of the *Sponsalia* (Arch. notarile of the Capitol, Registrum Protocollorum of the notary Camillo Beneimbene). This volume of documents, which I discovered, extends from 1467 to 1505. The notary has therein collected the deeds which he compiled within this long space of time. There is scarcely a person of importance in Rome with whom he had not held professional relations.

Julian, and took Trivulzio into his pay. The bold rebel bravely defended himself for a year, until Lorenzo's representations induced him to sell Osimo to the Church for 7000 ducats.[1]

The change in the policy of the Vatican gave rise to a misunderstanding between the Pope and Cardinal Julian, who had retired to Bologna as early as September 1487. Hitherto he had been omnipotent; now the influence of his enemies the Orsini threatened to oust him from power. In general the fortunes of the nephews of Sixtus IV. began to sink.

Girolamo Riario murdered in Forli, on April 14, 1488.

Girolamo, who had been able to retain Forli and Imola on the death of his uncle, fell under the daggers of assassins, who had conspired to slay the tyrant, on April 14, 1488. They threw his naked body from the window of his palace into the street, when the Forlivesi rose and sacked the castle of their lord.[2] It was believed that the Pope had been privy to the conspiracy and that he hoped to make his own son signor of Forli. In fact the liberated city invoked the protection of the Church, and her envoys were hospitably received. Innocent, however, showed little confidence in the appeal; he was restrained by fear; and the hopes of the Forlivesi were defeated by the energy of the widow of the

[1] Boccolino first went to Florence, then incautiously to Milan, where Ludovico Sforza had him strangled in 1494. See his remarkable letter to the Sultan in *Sigism. Conti*, vi. 273 f.

[2] Letters of the murderers and of an agent of the Medici of April 19 and 21, 1488, in Fabroni, *Vita Laur. App.*, p. 318, and in Genarelli's edition of Burkard, p. 101. We may read the praise which Bruti, *Hist Flor.*, viii. 484, bestows on the murderer Francesco Urso.

murdered man. This amazon defended the fortress with the courage of a hero. True, the papal governor of Cesena entered Forli, but Giovanni Bentivogli and Gian Galeazzo sent troops to the relief of the countess. The papal forces were taken prisoners, the murderers of the tyrant were quartered, and on April 28, 1488, Ottavio Riario, son of Girolamo, was proclaimed lord of Forli. Italy was soon terrified by another violent death; Galeotto Manfredi of Faenza was murdered in his palace by his own wife Francesca Bentivoglio. The people elected as their signor Astorre, the little son of the slain lord.

The Manfredi in Faenza.

It was said in Rome that, in despicable weakness, and contrary to his given promise, the Pope had abandoned Forli like Aquila. His moderation may have been due to consideration for Cardinal Julian, a relation of the Riarii. Julian however had returned to Rome and was again the most influential adviser of the Pope. The Cibò were men of too little character to dispute the foremost place in the Curia with Cardinal Rovere. They were satisfied to acquire the ordinary favours of fortune, without interfering in the political affairs of the papacy like the Borgia or Riarii. The same year Innocent married his grand-daughter Donna Peretta, a daughter of Teodorina and Gherardo Uso di Mare (a Genoese merchant, who was also papal treasurer), to Alfonso del Carretto, Marquis of Finale. To the indignation of all religious people, the marriage festival was celebrated with great splendour in the apartments of the Vatican, when

the Pope took part in the banquet in the company of women.[1]

2. Appointment of Cardinals—Fate of the Sultan Djem—The Rhodians surrender him to the Pope—His Entry into Rome, March 1489—He resides in the Vatican — Fall of Granada, January 1492 — Festivals in Rome—Cardinal Medici enters Rome, March 1492—Death of Lorenzo Medici, April 1492 — The Sacred Lance is brought to Rome—Family Alliance between Naples and the Pope — Death of Innocent VIII., July 25, 1492—Franceschetto Cibò sells Anguillara to the Orsini.

Although in the capitulations of election Innocent had promised never to increase the number of cardinals beyond twenty-four, he nevertheless created five others on March 9, 1489: Lorenzo Cibò son of his brother Maurice, Ardicino della Porta of Novara, Antoniotto Gentile Pallavicini of Genoa, Andrea d'Espinay of Bordeaux, and Pierre d'Aubusson de la Feuillade, Grand-master of the Knights of S. John, who had valiantly defended Rhodes against the Turks. He had also three others in his mind; Maffeo Gherardo of Venice,

[1] On November 16, 1488. The guests sat at three tables; the Pope with Julian and Riario; at another table were Francesco Cibò, Teodorina, the young pair, Maddalena Cibò and other relations. Burkard: *haec notavi, licet contra normam caerimoniarum nostrar. acta sint, quae expresse prohibent mulieres sedere in convivio cum Pontifice.*

Federigo Sanseverino, son of Count Robert, and Giovanni Medici, son of Lorenzo.

The appointment of d'Aubusson was the payment for a service, namely the surrender of an illustrious Turkish prisoner. Djem, the younger son of Mohammed II., defeated in the war of succession by his brother Bajazet, had fled to the Sultan of Egypt and had then appealed for protection to the Knights of S. John. He landed in Rhodes on July 23, 1482; the knights eagerly received the son of their mortal enemy, regarding him as a valuable means for financial and diplomatic gains.[1] D'Aubusson made use of the prince to extort money in a way that was little honourable from the Sultan Bajazet. The Sultan pledged himself by treaty to the annual payment of 35,000 ducats for the conscientious custody of his brother, and for the maintenance of a lasting peace with Christendom. For greater safety the Grand-master sent the young prince to France in August 1482, where Djem remained for years in the prison of the Order, eating the bitter bread of Frangistan, the land of the enemies of his faith.[2] He was the first Sultan

Sultan Djem in Rhodes.

[1] Letter of the Grand Master of the Order to Sixtus IV. in Bosio, *Hist. di Malta*, lib. xii.; and another in Hammer, ii. 263. Extracts from Guillelmi Caoursin, *Rhodior. Vicecancellarii*, *De casu regis Zyzymy*, Ulm, 1496, in Thuasne's edition of Burkard, vol. i., App. The name is given in Bosio as Jem; in Burkard Gem. The Italians transformed it into Zizim.

[2] Hammer, p. 279. He solaced himself by writing poetry. His friends collected his verses, among which a poem on France has obtained celebrity. There is a romance entitled: *Zizimi prince Ottoman amoureux de Philippine Helcine de Sassenage . . .* par Guy Allard, Grenoble, 1673.

who trod the shore of France otherwise than as an enemy. King Charles was well content to have him there, but so great was the fanaticism of the time, that he would never see him in person.

From avaricious motives the kings of the West held negotiations with the Knights of S. John concerning the surrender of the prisoner; Kasimbey, the Sultan of Egypt, to whose protection Djem's wife and children had fled, was also anxious to have him. Innocent VIII. strove for years for the same object, and finally succeeded in concluding negotiations with the French regency and diverting the Turkish annuity into his coffers.[1] Contrary to treaty, the Grand-master surrendered the unfortunate prince into the hands of another, the Pope. Djem was brought by a vessel from Avignon to Rome, and on March 10, 1489, was made over by his guardian, Guy Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne, to Cardinal Balue in Civita Vecchia. His solemn entry into Rome on March 13 was a more important event than that of the head of the Apostle in the time of Pius II. A tragic and unparalleled fate drove the son of the conqueror of Byzantium to the palace of the Chief Priest of Christendom. Never had the Romans beheld a similar spectacle. The young Sultan, accompanied by a few Moslems, the faithful companions of his exile, rode through countless multitudes to the gate of Portus, where

Sultan Djem in Rome, 1489.

[1] The French regency formally made Djem over to the Pope, who, among other conditions, made possible the marriage of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII. Concerning these intrigues, see Moritz Busch, *Papst Julius II.*, Gotha, 1878, p. 45 ff.

he awaited the hour of his entrance. The Pope had sent the families of the cardinals to greet him. Franceschetto, the Senator, the magistrates, the foreign envoys, many nobles saluted him on horseback at the gate with the honours due to a sovereign. The son of Mohammed did not accord them a single glance. A turban on his head, his sad face covered by a veil, he sat motionless on the Pope's white palfrey. The Egyptian envoy hastened with his retinue to do homage to the great prince; weeping, the Egyptian kissed the ground before Djem, kissed the feet of his horse and his own royal knees. But the son of the ruler of half the universe betrayed his emotions by no outward sign. Silently he rode through Rome between the son of the Pope and the Prior of Auvergne, and the long procession of Christians and Moslems advanced slowly through the wondering crowd to the Vatican. There Djem made his dwelling in the rooms set apart for the reception of monarchs.[1]

He makes his dwelling in the Vatican.

The Pope shared none of the doubts felt by the King of France; the following day he received the Grand Turk in full Consistory. Djem was here introduced with all the ceremonial that befitted a Christian prince, but at the sight of the High Priest of the Giaours and his cardinals, the prisoner never for a moment forgot that he was a follower of the prophet and a son of Mohammed II. He scorned the injunction of the Master of the Ceremonies to throw himself down before the Pope; his turban on his head, he calmly stepped forward to the repre-

[1] See Burkard, who was present, and Infessura.

His reception in Consistory.

sentative of Christ and breathed a hasty kiss on his right shoulder. His interpreter pronounced a few words of salutation and of thanks, for the assurance that the prince would live unmolested in Rome. Djem condescended to embrace the cardinals, and at length re-entered his dreary apartments, where he bestowed not the slightest attention on the carpets, clothes, hangings and ornaments sent him by the Pope.

The Sultan's son henceforth passed his joyless days in the Vatican, guarded by some Rhodians and treated like an imprisoned monarch; fear of treachery or poison made his lonely existence yet more pitiable. He amused himself with hunting, music and banquets, or with Turkish apathy slept through the day. A short, strongly built man, with aquiline nose and blind of one eye, who gazed wildly and restlessly around him, he was the living likeness of his father.[1] To the Sultan Bajazet it was of the utmost importance that his brother should be rendered innocuous either by perpetual imprisonment or by a speedy death. For the former purpose he contracted to pay the Pope a yearly tribute of 40,000 ducats, and for the latter he sought complacent servants. An Italian offered to commit the murder, but his scheme was discovered and punished by a cruel death.[2] On November 30, 1490, a Turkish embassy came to

[1] Math. Bossus in Ciacconius, iii. 96. The description by Mantegna (see Bottari's *lett. pittor.*, viii.) is greatly exaggerated.

[2] Cristoforo Castanea, Baron of Castel Leone, banished thence by Innocent VIII., was executed in May 1490. Infessura.

Rome, bringing to the Pope the tribute due for three years, which amounted to 120,000 ducats, many valuable gifts, and the promise of a lasting peace. The Turkish minister insisted on seeing Djem, and the prince received his brother's envoy like a reigning sultan on the throne. Bajazet's legate, kneeling, handed him the imperial letter, but not until he had licked it inside and out to remove all suspicion of poison. After some days, Djem hospitably entertained the envoys in the Vatican. Infessura considers it a remarkable coincidence, that on the day when the Turkish prince gave this banquet in the Pope's palace, the atmosphere suddenly became dark and stormy. And earnest Christians might well look with displeasure on the palace of S. Peter, where—a spectacle unexampled in the history of the Church—a Sultan and a Pope now held their courts side by side.

In September 1490 Innocent VIII. fell ill and the state of affairs in the Vatican came to light. On the 27th the Pope was reported dead. Rome immediately flew to arms. The son of the Pope, however, hurried to secure the treasures of the Church, part of which he had already sent to Florence. But the cardinals were fortunately in time to intervene. They prevented Franceschetto's attempt to get Djem into his power, in order, it was said—and probably with justice—to sell him to Virginius Orsini, and through him to King Ferrante. The cardinals who watched the ailing Pope with argus eyes took the inventory of the papal wealth. It was asserted that they found 800,000 gold florins

in one chest, 300,000 in another; the Pope recovered and was furiously indignant. "I hope," he said, "one day to fall heir to all these lord cardinals." He went to Portus and Ostia to recover health.

A sinister feeling pervaded Rome. Prophets prophesied; ancient and recent auguries announced the overthrow of all existing institutions and the fall of the priestly power in the year 1493.[1] Savonarola's voice already sounded in Florence. Even a prince like King Ferrante censured the state of things in the Vatican, more especially the scandal of housing the papal children, and he exhorted the King of the Romans to save the sinking Church by a reformation. The King of Naples was again at variance with the Pope; he had not fulfilled his engagements, had not paid his

1 Malipiero (Annali Veneti, *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, vii. 372) quotes a prophecy concerning the year 1493, as written *ora più de trenta anni*:

Gallorum levitas Germanos justificabit,
Italiae gravitas Gallos confusa necabit.
Gallus succumbet. Aquilae victricia signa
Mundus adorabit. Erit Urbs vix Praesule digna.
Mille ducentis bis, et nonaginta sub annis
Et tribus adjunctis, consurget Aquila grandis.
Terrae motus erit, quod non procul auguror esse.
Constantina cadet, equi de marmore facti,
Et lapis Augusti erectus, et multa palatia Romae.
Papa cito morietur. Caesar regnabit ubique.
Sub quo tunc vana cessabit gloria Cleri.

These lines are older, however, and are found with some variants in a Vatican MS.; thus *millenis ducentenis nonaginta sub annis*; and more correctly *Constantine, cades*; namely, the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius. See the text, printed by Berger, in *Bibl. d. Ecol. Franç. d'Ath. et de Rome*, vi., 1879, p. 2.

feudal tribute, and was in consequence excommunicated and deposed by Innocent on September 11, 1489. A renewal of the war was fortunately prevented only by the weakness of the Pope.

Innocent VIII. had frequently exhorted Christendom, but always unsuccessfully, to undertake a Crusade. That which could not be achieved in the East was suddenly accomplished in the extreme West. Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain, surrendered to Ferdinand the Catholic on January 2, 1492. The fall of this city, an event of great importance to Christianity, awoke the utmost enthusiasm in the West, but no one dreamt of the consequences to history entailed by it. The Spanish monarchy now appeared for the first time as a power of the foremost rank, and the fact completely altered European relations. Every house in Rome was illuminated; processions were held to the national Church of the Spaniards, S. Giacomo on the Piazza Navona. The Spanish envoys who had brought the news caused the taking of Granada to be represented with a wooden imitation-fortress and gave bull fights on the piazza Cardinal Borgia also gave the people bull fights according to the Spanish mode. It was February and the Carnival season, and seldom had Rome beheld diversions of such rare and pagan splendour.

Fall of Granada, Jan. 2, 1492.

A spectacle of another kind soon created no less sensation. For on March 22, 1492, the eighteen years old Giovanni Medici entered Rome as cardinal. Lorenzo had long since destined this—his second son—for the spiritual career. At the age of seven,

Giovanni Medici becomes Cardinal.

he had been appointed by Lewis XI. to an abbacy in France, had been made Proto-notary by the Pope, and in his eighth year had been nominated again by the King of France to the arch-bishopric of Aix—an appointment, however, which had not been ratified by the Pope.[1] In the rudest days of Christendom the children of princes had received the highest dignities of the Church; now, despite the Canon laws, things had again reverted to similar conditions. Lorenzo had urged the election of his son to the cardinalate by all the means in his power. When he now attained his object in 1489, his joy knew no bounds.[2] But on account of his youth, Giovanni was not to receive the insignia of his dignity for three years. When this finally took place at Fiesole, Florence, already enslaved to the Medici, celebrated the event as a national festival. The youthful Cardinal of S. Maria in Dominica left his native city on March 9, 1492. His journey to Rome was a triumphal progress; his reception in the city on March 22 and his procession to the Vatican from S. Maria del Popolo, where he had spent the night, no less so. The youth, who had been educated in his father's house with all the culture of the age, showed the self-possession of a born prince. Of the visits paid to his colleagues, one alone was a trial to him, that to Rafael Riario; for this Cardinal had but a few years before been a witness of the murder of his

He arrives in Rome on March 22, 1492.

[1] Ricordi di Lorenzo, in Fabroni, App.

[2] On October 10, 1489, Lorenzo wrote to his envoy in Rome: *la misura della grandezza sua vi mando in questa: ma da hiermattina in qua mi pare cresciuto e mutato.* Fabroni, App.

uncle and the attempt on his father's life. It is said that both turned pale when they beheld each other for the first time.[1] The fortunate Lorenzo might well be satisfied with his son's reception; he wrote a letter in which as a father he counselled him to direct his life well and wisely. The advice was appropriate to the immature years of the cardinal but not to his exalted dignity.[2] In truth Giovanni Medici might well follow these instructions, for conditions in Rome were more immoral than they had ever been; there was nothing at the papal court but usury and nepotism; nothing but frivolity in the palaces of many of the cardinals. What would the world say when it learnt that Cardinal Riario had won 14,000 gold florins one night at play from Franceschetto Cibò, and that Franceschetto afterwards appeared in a passion before the Pope to denounce the cardinal as a cheat?[3]

The young Medici found his sister Maddalena in Rome as the wife of Franceschetto. He furnished himself a house in the Campo dei Fiori, whence he could watch the progress of the present Cancellaria, the huge structure which was then in process of

[1] The journey and entrance are described by Burkard, and by Petrus Delphinus, attendant of the Cardinal. Fabroni, p. 306.

[2] *Conosco, che andando voi a Roma, che è sentina di tutti i mali, entrate in maggior difficultà.*—He was first to consider the honour of the Church, then that of his house; was to be moderate in splendour—*più presto qualche gentilezze di cose antiche e belli libri;* to give more banquets than he received; to rise early, and to reflect in the evening on what was to be done the next day. Fabroni, App.

[3] The Pope ordered the Cardinal to restore the money; he replied that he had used it for building his palace.

building by Rafael Riario. But his house was scarcely ready for his reception when it was transformed into a house of mourning; for his father died on April 7, 1492. Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano and Marsilio Ficino, the disciples of that pagan philosophy and the representatives of that refined culture of which he himself was the embodiment, surrounded the dying Maecenas in the villa of Careggi. But beside the same deathbed stood also the monk Savonarola to remind him of the Christian faith which he had denied, and of the liberties of Florence which he had destroyed. Wealth did not avail to prolong Lorenzo's days; he swallowed the potion of dissolved diamonds handed to him by his physician and passed away at the age of only forty-four.

Death of Lorenzo Medici, April 7, 1492.

The death of this astute statesman, in whom the whole of Italy recognised a peacemaker, appeared as a national misfortune which convulsed all political affairs. It was at least the belief of contemporary Italians that Lorenzo could have averted the approaching storm. Death preserved him from the collapse of his power and also of his fame.[1] With him an epoch of Italian history was buried, and he also closed the best period of the house of Medici. Lorenzo foresaw the complications of the immediate future, and strove, in a close alliance with the Church, to provide his family with a sure support. He had attained his greatest wish when his son was made a cardinal; before his death he had introduced the future Leo X. to Rome and history. He also left

[1] Concerning this see B. Busèr, *Lorenzo de' Medici.*

two other sons, Piero and Giuliano, and the bastard of his murdered brother, another future pope, whose name is allied with the disgrace and ruin of both Florence and Rome.[1]

Giovanni Medici left Rome as early as May 10, 1492, in the capacity of legate to Tuscany, to avert a possible revolution in Florence. The friendly relations which the Medicean republic held with the Papacy were maintained for the present, and the ties which Innocent VIII. had formed with Naples were peacefully restored. For on January 28, 1492, the quarrel with Ferrante was ended by a fresh treaty, in which the King promised to pay the tribute which was owing. In order to emphasise this treaty Don Ferrantino, Prince of Capua, son of Alfonso of Calabria, came to Rome to receive the investiture of Naples. The prince was received with the highest honours; his relation, Cardinal Ascanio, entertained him in his palace at the German hospital with such lavishness, that the annalist Infessura says that every description of the banquet would seem ridiculously exaggerated. The prince dwelt in the Vatican, and his numerous retinue—he had come with an escort of 900 horse and a train of 260 mules—thanked the Pope for the hospitality received by carrying off the furniture of their rooms, even to the very carpets.

The presence of Don Ferrantino added splendour to the festival of the reception of a Christian relic of

[1] The Life of Lorenzo the Magnificent has been written by Roscoe, and in 1874 with much greater knowledge of the time by A. von Reumont. (2nd edition, 1883.)

great value, by which the theatrical solemnity of the entrance of S. Andrew's head was repeated. Bajazet, in constant fear of the designs which might be entertained concerning his brother, sent the Pope nothing less than the actual spear-head with which the Redeemer had been wounded on the Cross. This mythical piece of iron, it is true, had long been shown to the devout at the same time both in Nuremberg and in Paris; all doubts on the subject, however, could be quieted in Rome. A Turkish envoy brought the relic to Ancona; it was carried to Narni by the Bishop, where it was received by two cardinals. On May 31 Julian Rovere handed it over in a crystal vessel to the Pope in S. Maria del Popolo, and the procession then wended its way to S. Peter's. The already ailing Pope bestowed his blessing on the people from the loggia of the portico, while Borgia standing beside him held the lance aloft in his hands. The Turkish envoy who was also present now handed the Pope the Sultan's letter and begged for permission to visit Prince Djem.

A family festival in the Vatican followed the religious ceremonial. The Prince of Capua had been sent to Rome by his grandfather to seal a complete reconciliation with the Pope. Naples, like Florence, in dread of France, now sought for closer union with the Papacy; for the report became ever louder that the young King Charles VIII. intended to enforce the claims of the house of Anjou. Ferrante had already entered into alliance with Milan, which feared the claims of Orleans, since in

1489 Isabella, daughter of Alfonso of Calabria, had married the young Duke Gian Galeazzo. And now in order to divert Innocent from his French policy, Ferrante consented to a marriage between a grand-daughter of the Pope and his own grandson Don Luigi of Aragon, Marquis of Gerace, and on this account sent the Prince of Capua to Rome. The marriage was publicly solemnised in the Vatican, and the festival, which took place at a time when the court ceremonies of the Italians had reached their utmost magnificence, must have furnished a model of the most refined taste. Cardinals, princes, barons, forty noble ladies were witnesses to the marriage, which took place in the beautifully decorated hall where the Pope sat enthroned. Among the noble women were his daughter Teodorina, Peretta del Carretto his grand-daughter, Maddalena Medici his daughter-in-law. The Archbishop of Ragusa, who knelt at the prescribed distance of two ells from the Pope, delivered a discourse on the sacrament of marriage, rose and then united the pair. The girlish Battistina Cibò, daughter of Gherardo Usodimare, who was still a child, pronounced her assent with great reluctance: the marriage indeed was never consummated, for Battistina died a short time after, and her husband Don Luigi became a priest in January 1494, and a cardinal in 1497. On June 4, after the marriage festival the Prince of Capua received the investiture of Naples for his father Alfonso, and left Rome.

Marriage of Don Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò.

Innocent was already so ill that his death seemed imminent. The cardinals, filled with suspicion,

hastened to shut up Prince Djem in S. Angelo.[1] Rome sank instantly into a state of anarchy. So arrant was crime, that Prospero Colonna, Jordan Orsini and other nobles as well as citizens appeared on the Capitol on January 22 to offer their services to the senator Mirabilii. Meanwhile, surrounded by his greedy nephews, Innocent lay dying in the Vatican. He was scarcely able to take any nourishment but human milk.[2] If the picture of the dying Medici, whom his physicians in vain strove to save by a potion of dissolved diamonds, resembles an ingenious allegory illustrating the true value of riches, how shall we describe the scene, said to have been enacted at the death-bed of a pope? A horrible fiction was invented, which asserted that the Jewish physician inoculated the dying man with the life-blood of boys; that three children of ten years old had been sold for the purpose and had died victims to the criminal experiment.[3]

Death of Innocent VIII., July 25, 1492.

The cardinals raised troops; 400 men guarded the Turkish prince, now again in the Vatican, while the Count of Pitigliano held the Borgo. Innocent VIII. died at the age of sixty on July 25, 1492. During his reign he had followed the traditional ways of the

[1] Burkard's Diary, in which there is here a lacuna, must be supplemented by Infessura's account of the death of Innocent VIII. The MS. in the Chigiana breaks off as early as June 14, 1492, and begins again with the elevation of Alexander VI. to the Pontificate.

[2] *Piglia poco altro che late di donna. Fil. Valori agli Otto di Pratica*, Rome, 23 Juli 1492. *Archiv. Flor.*, Classe X. Dist. 6. n. 8.

[3] *Judaeus quidem fugit, et Papa sanatus non est.* Infessura and Raynaldus, n. xxi. The Florentine Valori says nothing on the subject.

Curia without energy or intelligence. The abuse of the traffic in offices developed to incredible proportions. He himself created new offices for the sake of money, and surpassed even Sixtus IV. in these financial speculations.[1] He sold the customs duties to Romans, of whom no one demanded an account; extortions and embezzlement corrupted the administration of the State; even false bulls were issued in numbers by impostors.[2] The Curia became more and more the laboratory of shameless corruption, a bank of money-changers and usurers, a market for the sale of offices and dignities throughout the entire world. We do it no injustice in asserting, that through it the morality of Rome and Italy and even of the entire age was corrupted. An avaricious nepotism, devoid of any trait of grandeur, of any political idea, which aimed only at sordid advantage, debased the reign of Innocent VIII. Fortunately he founded no principalities for his children, since neither he himself possessed the vigour necessary for the purpose, nor they sufficient energy and talent to rise to greatness in the State. In 1490 he had bestowed the county of Cervetri and Anguillara on

[1] He created 52 "Piombatori" of apostolic bullae, each of whom paid him 2500 ducats; and 300 other offices. Under Sixtus IV. there were 650 offices for sale (*vacabili*), which brought in a revenue of about 100,000 scudi. This scandal increased by degrees. Under Leo X. there were already 2150 offices of the kind; Paul III. added about 600; Paul IV. 300; Pius IV. 535, and Sixtus V. surpassed all his predecessors. P. Wocher, *Das Kirchl. Finanzwesen der Päpste*, p. 6.

[2] On October 19, 1489, two apostolic secretaries were burnt as forgers on the Campo di Fiori. Burkard. The bulls of 1487–1489 are consequently doubtful. Infessura and Novaes.

Franceschetto Cibò sells Cervetri and Anguillara to the Orsini.

his son Franceschetto. On the death of Sixtus IV. this territory had been garrisoned and held by Deifobo, son of Eversus, on whose death Innocent ousted his children and made his own son lord.[1] With prudent foresight Franceschetto consequently hastened on his father's death to sell Cervetri and Anguillara to Virginius Orsini. He remained only Count of Ferentillo. His son Lorenzo (by Maddalena Medici) afterwards acquired the Marquisate of Massa and Carrara by marriage with Riccarda Malaspina. The Cibò remained masters there until the district—raised into a dukedom by the Emperor Maximilian—fell to the Modenese house of Este in the eighteenth century.[2]

3. The Candidates for the Papacy—Julian Rovere—Ascanio Sforza—Rodrigo Borgia buys the Papal Election—Alexander VI. Pope, August 11, 1492—His Past—His Mistress Vanozza—His Children—Coronation Festival on August 26.

On August 6 the cardinals met in conclave in the Sistine Chapel, which was guarded by the envoys

[1] By a bull, Rome, February 21, 1490. Copy in the Orsini Archives, T. 97, Lett. F., n. 27. The last Count of Anguillara therein is Dominicus; he and Ursus were sons of Count Dolce, son of Francesco. Deifobo, long in the service of Venice, made his will at Soano on May 28, 1490; his heirs were his sons Ascanio and Giacomo. Colonna Archives, Scaf. XIII. n. 94. The protocols of Beneimbene contain several acts relating to the acquisition of estates by Francesco Cibò.

[2] Members of the family of Innocent VIII. remained in Rome. Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò died here in 1503, likewise Gerardo Usodimare, husband of Teodorina, on January 27, 1499. Burkard.

of the foreign powers and the Romans Cola Gaetani and Battista Conti. The Vatican was barricaded; infantry and Roman nobles on horseback barred the entrances.

To the twenty-three electors were added two more, who were not, however, proclaimed cardinals: Federigo Sanseverino, brother of the condottiere Fracassa, and the venerable Patriarch of Venice, Maffeo Gherardo. Of those created by the late pope there were the Cardinals Cibò, Ardicino della Porta, Antoniotto Pallavicini and Giovanni Medici. As more especially eligible for election were esteemed Ascanio Sforza, Borgia, Lorenzo Cibò, Rafael Riario and Julian Rovere. The candidates for the Papacy came forward with a frankness, such as had never been seen before, in a way that recalled the times when the Roman Empire was put up to auction. Cibò supported the candidature of Pallavicini; it failed, however, because Pallavicini had been a creature of Innocent VIII. Rovere was also rejected on account of the threatening intentions of the crown of France: for the purpose of advancing the election of this cardinal, the French King had deposited 200,000 ducats, Genoa 100,000 in a bank.[1] His rival Ascanio, the most distinguished among the cardinals, was recommended by Borgia solely because he had no prospect of becoming pope. He allowed himself to be won to Borgia's side, worked in his favour and was supported in his behalf by Riario and Orsini. A Spanish pope might seem in

Conclave, Aug. 1492.

[1] Cavalieri writing to Eleonora of Aragon concerning the Conclave: *Atti e Memorie—di Storia Patria*, Modena, 1863, i. 429.

harmony with the time; for Spain was just rising triumphant from her religious wars against the Moors and could now act as a counterpoise to France. It is singular that in the same days of August 1492, when the cardinals were intriguing to make a Spaniard pope, Columbus was boldly setting forth on the ocean in Spanish vessels. These contemporaries thus pursued their respective aims: Borgia the Papacy, Columbus the discovery of a new world and the eternal glory of a hero. It was chiefly due to Orsini and Ascanio that Borgia was made pope. We blush to think that a wealthy man like Sforza could aim at increasing his riches. It is said that before the Conclave Borgia sent four mules, laden with money, to his house.[1] He promised him his own palace with all its contents, the office of vice-chancellor and other benefices.[2] Monticelli and Soriano were given to Cardinal Orsini, the Commenda of Subiaco with all its fortresses in perpetuity to the Colonna, on Cardinal Michiel was conferred the Bishopric of Portus, on Cardinal Sclafetani the

[1] Infessura. Valori reports on August 12, 1492 (Archiv. Flor.): *Monsre. Ascanio e stato quello che solo ha facto venire, con arte non pichola il pontificato in costui.* On August 14 he speaks of Ascanio's motive as *cupidità di roba, perche del vicecancell. li rimane il valsente di* 100 *m. duc. o meglio.*

[2] Appointment of Ascanio as vice-chancellor by brief of Alexander VI., August 26, 1492. Mscr. Barberini, n. 2842, fol. 268. (Collection of letters of the Popes from Avignonese times onwards.) That Ascanio received the Palazzo Borgia (now Sforza Cesarini) is undoubted. Mscr. Barberini (Extracts from the Regesta of Alexander VI.): *Palatium positum in Regione Pontis a fundamentis extruxit, quod VII. Kal. Septbris a.* 1492 *Ascanio Card. nullam domum habenti donavit.*

town of Nepi, on Cardinal Savelli Civita Castellana, while other large sums of money were promised. Even the Patriarch of Venice, aged ninety-five, stretched forth his trembling hand for 5000 ducats.[1] Only five electors possessed sufficient pride to refuse the seductions of Simon Magus; Caraffa Piccolomini, Rovere, the Cardinal of Portugal and Zeno.[2]

On the night of the 10th–11th August the name of Borgia issued unanimously from the urn. He robed himself hastily in the papal vestments, and ordered the master of ceremonies to publish a placard with the inscription "we have Pope Alexander VI., Rodrigo Borgia of Valencia." It was early morning when the window of the hall of Conclave was opened, the Cross appeared from it and in the silence of the dawn the name of Alexander VI. was proclaimed.[3] The bell of the Capitol was rung; the people here rushed to sack the house of the

Alexander VI. Pope, 1492–1503.

[1] Infessura ironically says: *dispersit et dedit pauperib. bona sua.* And of the aged Cardinal Gherardo: *et adeo movebat caput, ut semp. videretur annuere.*—Valori (*ut supra*) reckons up all that the Cardinal received from Borgia.

[2] Infessura. According to the unedited Vita Alexandri (in Genarelli's edition of Burkard, p. 209) Medici also had no share; he adhered to Cibò.

[3] *Conclavi dei Pont. Rom.*, Col. 1691, i. 133. Concerning the Conclave of Alexander VI. (the minutes of which in Burkard are merely supplemented by Infessura), see the Vita ined. Alexander VI. (which was made use of by Gordon, *Vie du Pape Alex. VI. et de son fils César Borgia*, Amsterdam, 1732); a partisan of the Borgia (in Genarelli, p. 205), and Corio.—Valori triumphantly sends the news to Florence, *Romae In Palatio Ap. die XI. Aug.* 1492. Written on the outside, four times *Cito* and *Volate, Volate, Volate.* (Florentine Archives.)

elected candidate, then ran to S. Peter's, where the new Pope descended to receive his first oaths of homage. Cardinal Sanseverino, a man of gigantic strength, lifted Borgia in his arms and placed him on the throne above the high altar, introducing him as pope to the applauding crowd.

Even to the most pious believer in mysteries the appointment of such a man as representative of Christ or, to speak in the impious language of the past, as the Vicar of God on earth, can scarcely appear an act of the Holy Ghost, who is supposed to influence quarrelsome and ambitious cardinals in conclave. On the contrary posterity raises indignant reproaches against the corrupt electors of 1492. But did they elect Alexander VI. such as we now see him in history? The excesses of Cardinal Borgia were universally known. Pius II. had already censured them; but was he the only cardinal guilty of such offences? The morality of that age pardons nothing more easily than sensual misdeeds. He had children by a mistress, but had not Innocent VIII. openly acknowledged his offspring as princes? As cardinal, Rodrigo Borgia had not been regarded as specially wicked. A contemporary who describes his character says "he is a man of aspiring mind, of moderate education, of ready and vigorous speech; of crafty nature, but above all of admirable intellect where action is concerned."[1] His long services in the Church, his thorough knowledge of business, his personal majesty and intellectual as well as physical strength at the age of sixty decided the opinion of

[1] Jacob. Volaterranus, p. 130.

the electors that he was eminently worthy of the Papacy.[1]

His career before he became Pope was briefly as follows. Rodrigo Lanzol Borgia was born at Xativa near Valencia in Spain, on January 1, 1431; he was the son of a nobleman of moderate means, Don Jofré, and of Donna Isabel de Borgia, sister of Calixtus III.[2] After he had studied canon law at Bologna, his uncle made him cardinal deacon of S. Niccolò in Carcere in 1456, and soon after vice-chancellor of the Church. The result of his so-called studies were some writings in defence of the papal power in the spirit of Torquemada.[3] Calixtus III. bestowed the bishopric of Valencia upon him and under Sixtus IV. he became Bishop of Portus and

Early career of Alexander VI.

[1] *Quibus rebus factum est, ut omnium Collegarum judicio dignus summo Pontificatu sit habitus:* Sigismondo de' Conti, his secretary, *Histor.*, x. 53.

[2] The first medal of Alexander VI. bears the inscription: *Roderigo Lenzuola D. Borgia S. P. MCDXCII.*; in Bonanni, i. He subscribed himself *Rodericus de Boria:* thus in the *Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus*: Archives of S. Spirito.

[3] *Glossae Roderici Port. Ep. in regulas Cancellariae et constit. Inn. VIII. de beneficiis: Romae per Euchar. Silber*, A. 1487, 4to, and *Clypeus defensionis fidei S.R.E.*, Argent. 1497. Borgia perhaps only gave his name to the book. The State Archives of Bologna (*Lib. secr.*, i., fol. 95 *r*) contain a notice of August 9, 1456, according to which dispensation is granted to Rod. Borgia *super eo quod non audivit decretum per annum, nec audivit jura canonica per quinquennium, et non repetiit vel legit secund. formam constitutionis.* On August 13, 1456, the degree of doctor is unanimously conferred on Rodrigo. *Et illico private doctoratus est. Insignia dedit sibi D. Baptista de Sancto Petro. Et donavit Bireta pulcra cum cirothecis de camossa doctoribus.* I am informed of this fact by the Prefect of the Archives, Carlo Malagola.

legate for Spain.[1] On his return thence a year later, he had a narrow escape on the coast of Pisa, when one hundred and eighty of his companions, among them three bishops, perished. His wealth, partly inherited from his uncle Calixtus and his brother Don Pedro Luis, was increased by the revenues of three bishoprics and several convents in Spain and Italy and by the office of vice-chancellor, which alone brought him 8000 gold florins a year. Reputed the richest cardinal after Estouteville, he dwelt in the magnificent palace, now known as the Sforza-Cesarini, which he had erected among the Bank-buildings. The Roman chroniclers only occasionally mention the magnificence which he displayed there; but no one speaks of extravagant banquets, such as were given by Paul II. as cardinal, or by Estouteville, Riario, or Ascanio. He did not care for this kind of enjoyment. It would appear that Rodrigo, grasping by nature, kept tight hold of his wealth, a step which consideration for his children and for his own future may have counselled. In justice we must also add that the secrets of his life as cardinal are unknown, no witness having spoken on the subject. He was of passionately sensual temperament, which gave him a magnetic attraction

[1] The dates of his career are: on May 10, 1454, he—hitherto sacristan in Valencia—was made Proto-notary; on February 20, 1456, cardinal-deacon; on December 31, 1456, legate at Ancona; on May 1, 1457, on the death of Francesco Condulmer, Cardinal of Portus, vice-chancellor; at the beginning of the reign of Sixtus IV., Legate for Spain. *Ex. Reg. Alex. VI.*, Mscr. Barberini, xxxii. 242.—Compare also L. Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, i. 587 and appendix.

for women; but he himself was so ensnared first by the charms and then by the astuteness of a woman, that he acknowledged her fetters as were they those of marriage.

Vanozza and her children.

This woman was Vanozza de Cataneis, a member perhaps of the lesser nobility of Rome.[1] The name of Vanozza, a diminutive of Giovanna, recalls by its sound the times of the notorious Marozza. It is a mistake however to imagine Borgia's friend a Messalina. The circumstances of her life are not sufficiently known, and it is only from the ages of her children that we arrive at the conclusion that her relations towards Cardinal Rodrigo may have begun shortly before 1470. She was herself born in July 1442.[2] According to the doubtful statement of Infessura, the Cardinal first caused his mistress to marry a certain Domenico of Arignano.[3]

[1] On April 3, 1472, *nob. v. Gabriel qd. Ruçoni de Cataneis* makes a will in favour of his sons Astragio, Carlo, Taddeo and Ludovico. Archives S. Sanctor., from the papers which the Abbot Adinolfi allowed me to examine. *Carol. de Cataneis*, on March 18, 1493, thanks the Marquis of Mantua for a gift which Alexander VI. had received: Gonzaga Archives. In the History of Caesar Borgia by Tommasi (Leti) his mother is called: *Caterina o Rosa, detta la Vanozza, credo per esser questo il cognome della sua casa.* Jovius also wrongly considers the name Vanozza to be derived from the surname Vanotti. *Vita di Gonsalvo*, p. 212. She signs herself *de Cataneis*, in her epitaph she is called *Vanotia Cathana.* Thence arose probably by mistake the name Catarina. Rosa may have been her second name; Burkard called her: *Rosae Matris Card. Valentini*, Cod. Chigi p. 430.

[2] According to her epitaph, formerly in S. Maria del Popolo, she died on November 26, 1518, aged 76 years 4 months and 13 days.

[3] When Alexander VI. made Caesar a cardinal in 1493, he declared that Caesar was the son of this Domenico and Vanozza: *quam ipse*

Roman documents then show her to have been married twice again. About 1480 she was the wife of Giorgio de Croce, a Milanese. Cardinal Rodrigo promoted this husband to the office of apostolic secretary[1]; in the year 1485 he died and so did his and Vanozza's son Octavian.[2] On June 8, 1486, the widow married the Mantuan Carlo Canale, who after 1490 is spoken of as secretary to the Penitenziaria, and in 1498 as soldan or bailiff of the Torre di Nona.[3]

Vanozza was fifty years old and was still the wife of Canale, when her former lover became pope and she acknowledged herself the mother of his four

nupserat cuid. Domenico de Arignano. Infessura. Arignano is probably Castel Rignano, which had been held by the Savelli since the time of Paolo the celebrated condottiere (who died in 1405).

[1] In Adinolfi (*Canale di Ponte*, 1860), brief of Sixtus IV., July 14, 1480, to Cardinal Rodrigo in which he bestows the *officium litterar. apost.* on George de Cruce, *clericus Mediolan., scriptor et familiar. noster.*—In 1483 the married pair gave a lease of the Osteria del Leone at the Tor di Nona. Vanozza also gave a lease of that in the Vicolo de' Macelli (now del Gallo, Rione Parione). See Document in the Archives S. Sanctor.

[2] On October 9, 1485, he bequeathed the house in Pizzo Merlo to his chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, in case Octavian died without children, and appointed Vanozza guardian of his son, and on this son's death residuary legatee. Archives S. Sanct., iv. m. vi. 20. On October 7, 1486, George and Octavian are spoken of as dead.

[3] Marriage contract of June 8, 1486, in the book of protocols of Beneimbene. A deed of February 8, 1493 (S. Sanctor., iv. m. vi. 9) contains the sale of a piece of ground near S. Lucia in Selce, which is ceded by Graziano Fichinelli to Carlo Canale and Vanozza Catanee for 600 ducats. Canale was dead in 1500. A deed of November 10, 1500 (*ibid.* n. 31), contains *la vendita della metà dell' osteria della vacca* (Campo di Fiore) *per duc. 1370 fatta da Leonardo Capozzi alla magnifica Vanozza del quond. Carlo Canale.*

living children, Juan, Caesar, Jofré and Lucrezia.[1] She even assumed the surname of Borgia, though, it would appear, not until after the death of Alexander VI.[2] Her lover had outlived his passion, but his attachment still survived, and the shrewd Roman lady, henceforward satisfied with the good fortune of her children, remained so entirely removed from all public affairs, that her name is never linked in history with that of the Borgia even by the bitterest enemies of the house. Jovius, who knew her personally, speaks of her as an upright woman. Such at least she became, when like so many of her kind,—her own celebrated daughter for instance,—she strove to expiate the sins of her youth through so-called works of piety.[3]

It is a fact that many Romans received the news of Borgia's election with joy. So distinguished and

[1] This is proved by the epitaph: *Vanotiae Cathanae Caesare Valentiae Joane Gandiae Jafredo Scylatii et Lucretiae Ferrariae Ducibus Filiis Nobili.* . . . The names are not arranged according to age; for Juan was born about 1474; Caesar in 1474 or 1475; Lucrezia on April 18, 1480; Jofré 1481 or 1482. Mariana says that Alexander had four sons by Vanozza; beyond the three mentioned he names as the eldest Peter Ludovicus. This name is not given in the sepulchral inscription. Documents call him the son of Cardinal Rodrigo, for the first time in 1481, when he was legitimated by Sixtus IV., as *adolescens*; Bull of November 5, 1481, in the *Boletin de la R. acad.*, Madrid, 1886, p. 426.

[2] In the Archives of Este are preserved nine letters of Vanozza from 1515 to 1517, two of which are to Lucrezia; she signs herself *La felice et Infelice quanto Matre Vanozza Borgia de Cathaneis*, or *la fel. et inf. Vanoza de Borgia et de Cataneis*; or *la fel. et Inf. Mre. vra. Vanoza Borgia.*

[3] *Per altro donna da bene, la quale io connobbi. Vita di Consalvo*, p. 212.

jovial a man augured a splendid pontificate; his handsome person also won him the favour of the people.[1] The magistrates went in procession on horseback by torch-light to greet him on the evening of his elevation. "I think," said a chronicler, "that Cleopatra was not received with greater magnificence by Mark Antony," and this sincere admirer of Borgia, in comparing the torch-bearers to the ancient Bacchantes, expresses in the naïvest manner the pagan spirit of his time.[2]

Coronation festival of Alexander VI.

The coronation festival on August 26 was celebrated with a splendour hitherto unknown. Artistic taste and servility vied with one another in glorifying the Spaniard Borgia as a divinity. In utter ignorance concerning the future, the cardinals and nobles, who were soon enough to be reduced by him to the extremity of ruin, were at lavish expense to do him homage. Statues and pictures, triumphal arches and altars stood in the streets. Epigrams, which would now read like satirical pasquinades, but which were then as sincere as audacious flattery could be, proclaimed the glory of Alexander the Great, or symbolically displayed the arms of the

[1] His portrait: *Lata frons, regium supercilium, facies liberalis, et tota majestatis plena. Ingenuus et heroicus totius corporis decor ut appareat naturam quoque formae dignitatem indulsisse, quae tibi primum multum gratiae et venerationis acquireret et nunc Apost. Sedem hac tua divina forma quasi numinis vice decoraret.* Declaration of obedience made by the Milanese ambassador Jason Mainus to Alexander VI. Cod. Chigi, L. 1, 15, fol. 528.

[2] *Parevami di vedere i notturni sacrifici che facevano gli antichi, o le baccanti feste, che con le facelle l'andavano facendo al Dio Bacco.* See Genarelli's edition of Burkard, p. 206.

Borgia, *or*, a bull grazing.[1] Perhaps some Christian may have looked in grief on this pagan pomp, on these mythological figures of gods and on the noisy procession, in the midst of which the successor of the apostles was carried like an idol on a gilded car, while the air was filled with the shouts of the populace, the braying of trumpets and the thunder of cannon. There was in Rome but one small congregation of men, who had kept pure their despised religion; the representatives of the synagogue awaited the papal procession on a tribune beside S. Angelo, where amid the laughter of the Christians they offered the roll of the Pentateuch in reverence to Alexander VI.[2] When the procession reached the Lateran, the exhausted Pope lost consciousness. There was a long interval before he appeared in the basilica; with difficulty and supported by two cardinals he advanced to the altar of the Chapel Sancta Sanctorum. Taking his seat on the papal chair he fell fainting, his head on the shoulder of Cardinal Riario;

[1] In Corio.—On the bank-buildings was the inscription: *Vaticinium Vaticani Imperii, Divi Alexandri Magni Coronatio.* Rome was represented, the papal crown in her hand, the bull by her side, with the curious inscription *Pudicitia-Florentia. Caritas.* Another:

Caesare Magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus
Regnat Alexander, ille vir, iste Deus.

Beside a triumphal arch, the Cardinal of S. Marco set up a bull, which poured forth wine and water.

[2] This ceremony is described by Burkard at the coronation of Innocent VIII.; instead of Monte Giordano the Jews had to take their stand at S. Angelo, *propter insolentiam, quae a Romanis et aliis fieba Judeis concessum est ipsis fieri hic.* So also at the coronation of Alexander VI. (Corio.)

water was sprinkled on his face until he recovered.[1]

4. Beginning of the Reign of Alexander VI.—Nepotism—Caesar Borgia—Lucrezia Borgia—Strained Relations with Naples—Ludovico Sforza aims at the Duchy of Milan—Columbus discovers America—Lucrezia Borgia marries Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro—Ludovico Sforza invites Charles VIII. to undertake an Expedition against Naples—Ferrante tries to Prevent It—He reconciles the Orsini and Cardinal Julian with the Pope—Jofré Borgia and Sancia of Aragon—Creation of Cardinals in September 1493—Caesar Borgia—Alessandro Farnese—Julia Farnese—Julian Cesarini—Ippolito of Este.

With perfect right Guicciardini regards the election of Borgia and the death of Lorenzo de Medici as the greatest misfortunes of Italy, but we question the justice of his opinion when he asserts that this election awoke universal apprehension, and even drew tears from the King of Naples. Alexander VI. had not yet revealed his true nature. A high opinion of his character was even entertained in foreign countries. To quote one authority, soon after Borgia's elevation Hartmann Schedel wrote in his chronicle that the world had much to expect from the virtues of such a pope. When the ambassadors of the Italian powers, who brought him the

[1] Letter of the general of the Camaldolensians, Peter Delphinus, of August 27, in Cancellieri, *Possessi*, p. 52.

professions of obedience in the early months of his reign, extolled his distinguished characteristics, they assuredly used the conventional phrases of flattery; nevertheless a genuine conviction of the rare gifts of the new Pope betrays itself.[1]

In the beginning of his pontificate, he also showed himself a shrewd and vigorous regent. Strict justice (from the day of Innocent VIII.'s fatal seizure until Alexander's coronation two hundred and twenty murders had been committed), punctual payment of officials, moderate prices in the markets, are the usual means by which princes on their accession recommend their rule. They were those adopted by Alexander VI. The terrible abuses in the administration of law were removed. Rome was quiet and contented. The new Pope, it is true, was not liberal like Nicholas V.: he was frugal of his money. The accounts of his household expenditure show that great moderation was the rule of his court.[2] One fact alone awakened suspicion—the

[1] *Hartmann Schedel Chron. Chronicar* (Nuremberg, 1493), p. 257. —See also the Oratio of the Count of Blandrate, legate of Montferrat (Rome, 1493), and similar writings, which were published at the time by Michel Fernus, and *Hieronymi Porcii Rom. Rotae primi auditoris, orationes nomine principum et rerumpub. Italiae ad Alex. VI.: Roma Eucharius Silber*, 1493, 4to.

[2] Of such *libri d'entrata e d'uscita* of the Papal *Spenditori* there are several of the time of the Renascence. I examined them in the Archivio di Stato in Rome, where, since 1871, they have been collected with other archives formerly in the Dogana. The expenses of the maintenance of the papal household are entered day by day. Alexander VI. spent daily from 20 to 30 ducats. The ducat was worth 10 carlini or 75 soldi, less than 4 francs. The table of Sixtus IV. was even more economical.

recklessness which he showed in his nepotism from the first hour of his pontificate.

It was indeed his passionate love of his children that proved fatal to himself and Italy. It first drew him into crimes, from which otherwise he would probably have kept free.[1] While a cardinal he regarded his Spanish home as the country where he could provide for his children, and this object was facilitated by the complaisance of Ferdinand the Catholic. His eldest son Don Pedro Luis had gone to Spain, where he had been received at court, and had distinguished himself in the eyes of the King by his valour in the wars against the Moors in 1485, more especially in the capture of Ronda. Ferdinand rewarded his services by admitting him and his younger brothers, Caesar, Juan, Jofré into the higher ranks of the Spanish nobility, and by selling him Gandia in Valencia with the title of duke.[2] He even consented to the betrothal—so anxiously desired by the ambitious cardinal—of his son Don Pedro Luis to Donna Maria, daughter of Don Enrique Enriquez, Ferdinand's uncle. By this marriage the young upstart would have become related to the royal house. But before it took place Don Pedro Luis returned to Rome, where he was overtaken by death at the age of thirty. By his will,

[1] *Novimus namque hominem alta semper agitantem, vesano amore, ut filios ad summum evehat rapi:* Petrus Martyr Anglerii, Ep. v. n. 117, Saragossa, September 18, 1492.

[2] Promotion to the rank of noble, dated *in nris felicib. castris acquisitionis Ronde*, May 18, 1485. Sale of Gandia, dated Alcala, December 20, 1485: *Boletin* of the Madrid Academy, 1887, pp. 323, 311.

made in his father's palace on August 14, he had left his brother Don Juan heir to Gandia and had bequeathed a legacy of 10,000 florins to his sister Lucrezia on her marriage.[1]

The young Caesar may have looked with envy on the brilliant career of his brother Don Juan, who had not only become Duke of Gandia, but was also preparing to set forth for Spain to marry the affianced bride of his dead brother. Caesar, on the other hand, was destined for a spiritual career. Innocent VIII. had made him Proto-notary and intended to make him next Bishop of Pampeluna.[2] He was studying at Pisa when his father was elected Pope. On receiving the news he hurried to Rome. On the day of his coronation Alexander gave him the Archbishopric of Valencia, which he himself had held. Such was the beginning of the career of a man who was shortly to rise to such terrible greatness. As in the time of Calixtus III., Borgia soon acquired all the most important offices in the Court, but the family, prolific and numerous, was not like the Cibò, contented with titles, marriages and financial profits. Even in the first Consistory, held on September 1, the Pope appointed Juan

Caesar Borgia becomes Archbishop of Valencia.

[1] Will of Pedro Luis, Rome, August 14, 1488; *Boletin*, 1886, p. 436.

[2] On October 1, 1480, Sixtus IV. had pronounced Caesar (aged 6) eligible for holy ordination, although his father was a cardinal-bishop, his mother a married woman: *de episcopo cardinali genitus et conjugata.* Heedless of all moral considerations, the Pope drily asserted this. *Boletin*, 1886, p. 420.—C. Höfler, Don Rodrigo de Borgia (Pope Alexander VI.) and his sons, Don Pedro Luis first, and Don Juan second, Duke of Gandia, Vienna, 1888, p. 51.

Borgia, Bishop of Monreale, to be cardinal of S. Susanna.[1]

His daughter Lucrezia, born on April 18, 1480, was only twelve years old; and already in February 1491 she had been legally betrothed to a young nobleman dwelling in Valencia, Don Cherubin Juan Centelles, lord of Val Ayora. This contract had been set aside and Lucrezia formally affianced to Gaspar da Procida, son of Count Gian Francesco of Aversa, a Spaniard. Scarcely had Rodrigo become Pope when he annulled this betrothal on November 9, 1492, in order that his daughter might marry still more advantageously. Ascanio Sforza, now the most influential of the cardinals, and Alexander's confidant, urged the marriage of Lucrezia with a member of his own house, Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, who had come to Rome secretly at the beginning of November. For the youngest of his sons, Don Jofré, the Pope hoped to find an opportunity of providing in Naples. Thence on December 11, 1492, came Don Federigo of Altamura, Ferrante's second son, to Rome to render obedience to Alexander VI. and to bespeak the Pope's favour for his house. He left Rome, however, dissatisfied on January 10, for there were already signs that the new Pope sought new alliances, which must entail the overthrow of the league that had hitherto

[1] The Barberini MS., xxxii. 242, enumerates more than thirty Borgias in spiritual and secular appointments. Raymund and Rodrigo were captains of the Palatine guards; Aloisius Borgia, Vice-castellan of Tivoli; Giovanni Lenzol, equerry to the Pope. By degrees he made five Borgias cardinals: two of the name of Juan, Caesar, Francesco, Pierluigi.

existed. Ascanio was the centre of these disturbances, and behind him stood his brother Ludovico the Moor.[1] The relations with Naples were in fact disturbed by various causes, one of which was the following. On the death of Innocent VIII., Franceschetto Cibò had gone over to his brother-in-law Piero Medici, and had already sold Cervetri and Anguillara to Virginius Orsini on September 3, 1492. Alexander VI., incited thereto by Ludovico Sforza, the Duke of Bari, and his brother, and by Cardinal Ascanio, protested against the sale of these estates to the head of the Orsini family, the powerful vassal of Naples and the favourite of Ferrante.[2] For a breach between the Pope and the King would redound to the advantage of Ludovico, who aimed at supreme authority in Milan and refused to resign the guardianship over his nephew Gian Galeazzo, who had already attained his majority. Isabella, wife of Gian Galeazzo, turned in complaint to her father Alfonso of Calabria, and the court of Naples urged Ludovico to renounce his usurpation. Such is the source whence, from the ambition of a single man, originated the ruin of an entire country; for

Dispute concerning Cervetri and Anguillara.

[1] As early as December 27, King Ferrante wrote to his son in Rome on the subject: Trinchera, *Cod. Aragon.*, ii. 133.

[2] The sale was executed in the palace of Cardinal Julian, near S. Agnese, on September 3, 1492: *Franc. Cibo—vendidit—D. Gentili Virginio Ursino de Aragonia Baroni Rom. Seren. Regis Ferdinandi Gen. Capitaneo Tagliacotii Albeque Comiti — Castrum Cerveteris—Monterani—Viani—tenimentum Castri diruti sive casalis Rote—partem—Ischiae, totum et integrum Castrum Anguillariae.* The price 40,000 ducats. Original parchment in the Orsini Archives. The sale was again confirmed in Florence, January 2, 1493. *Ibid.*

Ludovico the Moor and his policy.

fear and ambition impelled Ludovico to work the fall of the house of Aragon in Naples, and this he hoped to achieve, if not through a league of the Italian powers, then by a military invasion on the part of Charles VIII. of France. His aim was not to hurl the house of Aragon completely from the throne. He only desired to throw the political affairs of Italy into confusion, in order to extract his own advantage from the chaos. Through Ascanio he incited the Pope against the King of Naples, on whom he threw the blame of the sale of estates to the Orsini. He prepared the way for a league with Venice, which suspected that Sforza claimed over Milan the rights that the last Visconti had bequeathed to Alfonso's grandfather. On the other hand Piero Medici, the near relation of Virginius, renouncing Milan, allied himself with Naples. Cardinal Medici went to Florence and remained there.

The Roman Curia now stood under Milanese influence; Ascanio was the avowed enemy of Cardinal Julian Rovere, and the Pope also endeavoured to ruin this rival, his most powerful opponent in the Sacred College. Towards the end of December 1492 the menaced cardinal escaped to his strong fortress of Ostia.[1] His departure made a great sensation. Parties formed themselves; on

Julian Rovere flees to Ostia.

[1] Valori's despatches, January 16, 20, 1493: *Il Vincula se absentito di qua per havere inteso, che il papa da alcuni e stato confortato, che a voler potere disporre del Collegio liberamente era necessario — pigliasse qualche forma di torre riputazione al Vincula e per fare questo effecto bisognava si facessi ad sua Signoria qualche gran nota.*

Julian's side were the Cardinals Caraffa, Piccolomini and Costa of Lisbon, also Virginius Orsini and Fabrizio and Prospero Colonna. The King of Naples with a thousand courteous speeches offered his most effectual aid.[1] At the time of the barons' war the King had been at bitter enmity with Julian, but afterwards, becoming reconciled, had even desired his elevation to the Papacy. He now made him the centre of his party in Rome. Ferrante meanwhile exerted himself to deprive his enemies of every ground of attack; and since they could make the sale of estates to the Orsini a pretext, he strove to induce Virginius to come to an agreement with the Pope. Italy was already astir concerning this dispute respecting Anguillara and Cervetri. In February 1493 Ferrante sent a mediator to the Pope. He also implored the Signory of Florence to intervene in the Orsini question. Fear of France made him uneasy. In order to gain the Pope, he employed all the diplomatic arts of which long experience had made him master, and undoubtedly the King was the most accomplished statesman of his time in Italy.[2]

Ferrante supports the opposition of the Cardinals.

[1] As early as January 9, 1493, he writes to his son Altamura: *laudamo sommamente che lo Rm Card. de san petro ad vinc. se sia conferito in hostia acteso stando in securo la persona sua omne cosa venera bene et liberamente fatelo confortare ad stare de bono animo che mai li mancarimo.* Trinchera, *Cod. Arag.*, ii. 253. The King gave as the reason for his removal that Ascanio desired to rule the Curia alone: Letter to Antonio de Gennaro, envoy in Milan, March 7, 1493, *ibid.*, p. 310.

[2] This is shown by his letters to his ambassadors (*Cod. Aragon.*, vol. ii.). Unfortunately the reports of the Neapolitan embassy for this period are missing; only three volumes *exterorum* of the

In March Alexander himself proposed a family alliance; for his son Jofré he desired the hand of Donna Lucrezia, the King's daughter, with a suitable dowry. In Rome it was even said that Caesar Borgia, the young Bishop of Valencia, was to renounce his clerical habit, marry a Neapolitan princess and receive Salerno.[1] Ferrante entered eagerly into these negotiations, but as early as April the Pope retracted, Sforza apparently having caused him to change his mind. He collected troops; Milan and Venice did likewise. The King also armed himself; he had already received news of a league which was being discussed between the Pope, Milan and Venice. By his envoy Luigi de Paladinis, he urgently exhorted Alexander not to disturb the peace of Italy, and addressed a similar exhortation to Ludovico the Moor. With keen insight he perceived the dangers with which disunited Italy was threatened by the foreign invader, and he warned the ambitious prince that he was invoking a storm which he would be unable to quell.[2] He now drew still closer to Florence. Impatiently he urged the reconciliation between

Aragonese Chancery remain. It is these that the Director of the Archives has published.

[1] At this time Caesar was officially still to be the nephew of the Pope. *Dice se che quello nipote de uno fratillo di N. Sre ch e epis. di Valenza metera zoso lo abito e torra per moglie una nipote overo figliola de la Mta del re che li dara in dote al principato di Salerno.* Floravantus Brognolus to the Marchesa of Mantua, Rome, March 19, 1493; Gonzaga Archives. From this early time dates Caesar's design of becoming a secular prince.

[2] Letter to his envoys in Milan, April 24, 1493, from Palma (*Cod. Arag.*, ii. 376), full of statesmanlike wisdom.

Virginius and the Pope, but at the same time ordered Virginius, as well as Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, who were in his pay, to betake themselves to their Neapolitan fiefs, and ordered Trivulzio to place troops in the Abruzzi.

The league indeed he could not prevent, since on April 25 it was already announced in Rome. The Pope, Venice, Ludovico Sforza, Siena, Ferrara and Mantua had formed an alliance for twenty-five years. When the news reached Naples, the impulsive Duke of Calabria wished to begin the war immediately, and with Piero Medici, Virginius Orsini, and the Colonna to set forth against Rome and seize the crafty Pope. Nothing but his father's moderation prevented a scheme that would have set the whole of Italy aflame. Profoundly alarmed, the King represented his position to the Spanish Court, and informed it that the Pope, scarcely seated upon the throne, had brought Italy and the Papacy into danger; had forced Cardinal Julian to flight; and had seized the pretext of the sale of estates to the Orsini, to ruin both Orsini and Colonna, and to begin a quarrel with himself, the King. This monarch, steeped in crime and intrigue of every kind, was endowed with the profoundest knowledge of men; he was the first to discern the nature of Alexander VI., and he drew for the Spanish Court the first correct portrait of the Pope's true character. He warned Spain of Alexander's intrigues with France, and openly expressed his suspicion that he was even in alliance with the Turks. The life led by the Pope was scandalous and horrible; he had

League of April 25.

no other thought than that of aggrandising his children.[1]

Spain at this time was excited by a great event. While the sight of the incessant strife over dynastic politics in Italy filled all nobler spirits with disgust, Europe was electrified by the tidings that a new and wondrous world had been discovered on the other side of the ocean. The great Columbus had returned and landed at Lisbon on March 6, 1493. America, rising from the ocean, stepped from the darkness of centuries into history, and this new country showed Europeans, profoundly immersed in rediscovered antiquity, that civilisation had to describe still wider circles than those whose centres had been formed by Jerusalem, Athens and Rome. Portugal and Aragon quarrelled forthwith over the boundaries of their newly discovered territories and appealed to the tribunal of the Pope. This appeal would have been a grave offence to Dante and the older Ghibellines; for was it not the prerogative of the Emperor alone, as lord of the universe, to apportion lands and seas? When Alexander VI. drew the audacious line from pole to pole and

The discovery of America.

[1] This is the first indictment brought against Alexander VI.: it is written by King Ferrante in his instructions to Antonio d'Alessandro, his ambassador in Spain, Capua, June 7, 1493, *Cod. Arag.*, ii. pars 2, p. 41.—*El papa fa tale vita che e da tutti abbominata senza respecto de la sedia dove sta, ne cura altro, che ad dericto e reverso fare grande li figlioli et questo e solo el suo desiderio.—Et in tutte cose va con fraude, et simulatione, come e sua natura, et per fare denari vende omne minimo officio, e beneficio.*—A remarkable letter, written in Spanish, of the Datary Juan Lopez, Rome, March 28, 1493, to Don Enrique Enriquez, tries to rehabilitate Alexander from these charges (*Boletin*, 1885, p. 438).

endowed Spain with all the territory discovered, or still to be discovered, westward of Cape Verde and the Azores, this Pope rose in truth to a height of ideal power, to which his despicable domestic policy forms the harshest contrast. This stroke of the pen was the last reminiscence of the universal authority of the Roman Papacy.[1]

Relations such as these with the whole globe would have filled a noble spirit with lofty ideas, but Alexander VI. thought of nothing but the pleasures of the moment and the aggrandisement of his bastards. The spectre in his closet was his election, which had been due to simony. He feared that this stain on his pontificate might be used by his enemies to work his fall, especially in view of the universally felt need for reform both in Church and Curia. He consequently sought for a strong power on which to lean. Now in close alliance with Milan, on June 12, 1493, he married Lucrezia to Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, the natural son of Costanzo, whose father Alessandro had been a brother of Francesco I. The marriage festival was solemnised with splendour in the Belvedere of the Vatican. Under Innocent VIII. people had already grown accustomed to festivals of the kind in the papal family. The Pope, several cardinals and bishops, the ambassadors of France, Milan and Venice, the Roman magistrates, one hundred and fifty noble ladies and their husbands took part. The ceremony over, the Pope had silver vessels filled with sweetmeats

Lucrezia Borgia married to Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, June 12, 1493.

[1] See the bulls in Raynald, A. 1493. More especially *inter caetera divinae*, Rome, May 4, 1493. *Bullar. Rom.*, i. 346.

handed round, the contents of which were poured into the laps of the fairest women.[1] He and the cardinals deliberately sat indiscriminately among the ladies at the principal table, while lively comedies were performed. It was said that Alexander personally accompanied the young pair to the bridal chamber.[2] The palace in which Lucrezia held her court, and in which other members of the Borgia family dwelt, was a building which had been erected by Battista Zeno, Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, near the Vatican, in the year 1483. Zeno in suspicion had gone to Padua, where he died in 1501; and his palace came into possession of the Borgia.[3]

Lopez de Haro, Ferdinand's envoy in Rome.

Three days after the festival Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the envoy of Ferdinand the Catholic, arrived in Rome to yield obedience to the Pope. He was commissioned to treat concerning the newly discovered countries, to fix the amount of the ecclesi-

[1] *Et hoc ad honorem et laudem omnipot. Dei et Eccl. Rom.*, indignantly exclaims Infessura.

[2] Infessura mentions as present Julia Bella Farnese, the mistress of the Pope (*ejus concubina*). Concerning other circumstances, which were related of this banquet, he determined to keep silence "because they were untrue, or, if true, incredible." Encouraged by the example of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., priests kept mistresses. The Roman convents were in almost every case *lupanaria*.—A despatch of Valori, Rome, June 12, mentions as present *gran quantità di Donne baronesse et cittadine Romane—et facto lo sposalizio si fece una collatione sumptuosissima et certe rappresentationi di egloge e comedie. Questa sera in Palazzo medesimamente si fa allo sposo et sposa uno magno convito.*—On June 15 Ferrante congratulated the lord of Pesaro; he discreetly calls Donna Lucrezia *nepote de la S. de N. S. Cod. Aragon.*, ii. 2. 67.

[3] Cardella, iii. 175, and the inscription on the house, given in Ciacconius, ii. 1112.

astical tithes in Spain, and to complain of the reception accorded to the Marani in the State of the Church. Immediately after the fall of Granada, the fanatical persecution of the Saracens and Jews in Spain had begun under the Inquisitor Torquemada. These unfortunate people fled to various countries and even to Rome, where the district close to the tomb of Cecilia Metella was assigned them. If the King of Portugal, who sheltered thousands of such fugitives, demanded a tax of eight ducats a head, it is probable that the Pope did likewise.[1] The Marani could at any rate benefit by the intercession of the Sultan's son, for Djem lived on friendly terms with the Borgia. He might sometimes be seen on parties of pleasure in company with the Pope and riding by the side of his son John of Gandia, who from motives of politeness or vanity wore a Turkish costume on these occasions.[2]

Lopez complained in the consistory of the venality of all offices in the Curia, even of the bishoprics. He probably thereby reminded the Pope of his own simoniacal election; but his most important task was to avert the consequences of the league, especially as the rumour of the imminent invasion of Charles VIII. terrified all the States. In order to gain Alexander once more to the side of Spain, the marriage of Don Juan, Duke of

[1] Mariana, xxvi. c. 1.

[2] Burkard (Genarelli, p. 247) observes that the Pope rode through Rome on May 5, *et crucem precesserunt Gem Sultan frater magni Turci—a dextris, et Johes Borgia Dux Candiae Valentinus filius Papae in habitu Turcorum a sinistris.* They inspected the Lateran. The Turk and Giovanni surveyed the tomb of Martin V.

Gandia, with Donna Maria Enriquez was hurried on. The son of the Pope, magnificently equipped, sailed from Civita Vecchia in the beginning of August to Barcelona, where he was received with princely honours and where the marriage was solemnised. Ludovico Sforza had invited the King of France to undertake an expedition against Naples, since he probably saw that his own alliances with the Pope and Venice were not to be depended on.[1] His envoys excited Charles's imagination by depicting the splendour of the enterprise, which would receive the support of the Pope and several of the Italian princes. They represented that the conquest of Naples was the preliminary step to the conquest of Constantinople.[2] The Neapolitan exiles of the house of Sanseverino inflamed the desire of the young monarch, while Milanese gold bribed his advisers, Etienne de Vesc, seneschal of Beaucaire, and William Briçonnet, Bishop of S. Malo. Although the majority of the French nobles opposed the scheme as a fantastic enterprise, the King nevertheless signed a secret treaty with Ludovico Sforza.[3] In order to leave his hands free, he made peace with England, ceded Roussillon and Perpignan to Spain in January 1493, and on May 23 concluded the treaty of Senlis with

Ludovico the Moor summons Charles VIII. to Italy.

[1] *Philippe de Comines*, vii. c. 3.

[2] The views are expressed in the clearest manner in Ludovico's letter to Charles. Corio, p. 453.

[3] The expedition against Italy was unpopular in France; only unwillingly did the nobles obey the King's behests. Canestrini and Desjardins, *Négociations diplom. de la France avec la Toscane*, Paris, 1859, i. 292.

Maximilian, whom he had deeply injured. The King of the Romans, who had been a widower since 1482, when Mary of Burgundy, the mother of his children Philip and Margareta died, had been disgracefully robbed by Charles VIII. of his affianced bride Anne of Brittany. Ludovico now offered him the hand of Bianca, sister of the young Duke Gian Galeazzo, with a dowry of 400,000 ducats, under condition that the investiture of Milan, which the Sforza no longer asked from the Empire, should be given him. Political motives and avarice induced Maximilian to agree to the demand.

The King of Naples now endeavoured to separate the Pope from France and to draw him to his own side. In June he again sent Don Federigo of Altamura to Rome, instructing him to settle the Orsini question before Peron de Basche, Charles VIII.'s envoy, should arrive. The prince went first to Ostia, where he met Virginius and Cardinal Julian. In case his embassy failed, he was to assure Julian and the other cardinals of the opposition that the royal army was at their service on the frontier. The resistance of the older cardinals to the Pope was moreover increased by Alexander's intention of creating thirteen new cardinals for money. Julian, Piccolomini, Caraffa and Costa, supported also by Riario, Parma and Sanseverino, had hitherto succeeded in preventing these appointments, and had turned to Ferrante, that he might aid them with troops in case of need.[1]

[1] The King, through his envoy in Rome, de Paladinis, thanked them for their glorious resistance. Letter of June 10, 1493, *Cod.*

King Ferrante sends Don Federigo to the Pope.

In July Don Federigo came to Rome, where the Spanish envoy zealously supported him. The Pope gave ready ear to his warnings not to meddle in the plans of France and Sforza, and acceded to the project that his son Jofré should marry Sancia, a daughter of Alfonso of Calabria. But the obstinacy of Virginius proved a hindrance. At length, however, he yielded to the envoys of Florence and Spain and agreed to an arrangement. The difficulty with Cardinal Julian was to be settled at the same time and a reconciliation effected between all parties. In fact, on July 24 Virginius and the Cardinal came from Ostia to Rome. They dined with the Pope; the treaties were drawn up and sent to Naples. When Peron de Basche now entered Rome to request the investiture of Naples for his lord, and offered in return a large annual tribute and princely maintenance for the papal children, Alexander refused to see him.

Treaty concerning Cervetri and Anguillara.

The treaty concerning Anguillara was signed in the Vatican on August 16, 1493. Virginius paid 35,000 ducats and received in return investiture of the ecclesiastical fief.[1] Jofré Borgia, a handsome

Aragon., ii. 2, p. 48. Other letters on the same subject, p. 51, particularly to Cardinal Caraffa, Capua, June 17, 1493: *liberamente offerimo como principe studiosissimo de la dignita collegiale, e cardinalesca le facultate nostre eciam militare.* See also the overtures made by the King to Spain through his ambassadors, p. 145.

[1] *Acta in Pal. Ap. in Cam. Papagali praesentib. Card. Neapol. et Montis Regalis. et Excell. Oratorib. D. Didagno Loppes Regis et Reginae Hispanor. et D. Bernardino Carvajal Cartagien. Oratorib. et D. Loysio Oratore Regis Neapolit. et D. Antonio Viceoratore Florentinor.* . . . Orsini Archives, T. 97, L. F. n. 11; further documents of August 17, 20, 1493, n. 12, 28.—On September 12,

boy of about thirteen, was then called on to sign the marriage contract with Donna Sancia. The deed set forth that at the persuasion of Spain the Pope and King Ferrante wished to enter into closer relationship; that Don Jofré would receive the principality of Squillace and the county of Coriata with the princess as dowry; the treaty was to remain secret until Christmas. Jofré was then to go to Naples for the marriage and to take possession of his fiefs, was to remain there some months, and to return to Rome without his wife. When Don Federigo received the ring for Donna Sancia and thus acted the part of a woman, all present burst out laughing, and the Pope, also laughing, embraced him.[1]

Marriage of Don Jofré Borgia and Donna Sancia, Aug. 16, 1493.

So important for the peace of Italy did the reconciliation with the Orsini and Naples appear, that some of the powers addressed letters of thanks to Alexander.[2] Ascanio was now thrown over, and the Pope made approaches to Julian. On August 18 he gave him permission to remain in Rome, or not,

Reconciliation between the Pope and Julian Rovere.

1493, Virginius presented all these fortresses *Carolo de Ursinis ejus dil. naturali filio ex nob. matre licet conjugata, ex ipso quoq. conjugato genito. Acta—in Castro Bracciani.* Witnesses: *Raynaldus de Ursinis Archiep. Florent.; Magnif. D. Jordanus Manupellus de Ursinis; D. Paulus Vitellus de Civitate Castelli armor. Ductores.* Orsini Archives, T. 97, F. n. 5.

[1] Letter of the orator Antonio Guidotti de Colle to the eight nobles of Florence, Rome, August 17, 1493. Florentine Archives, Class X. Dist. 2, n. 18.

[2] On August 16, 1493, the Prior of Florence wrote; on September 5, Giovanni Galeazzo and Ludovico Sforza, Dux Bari (the latter naturally only diplomatically). Venetian Archives, Rome, *Materia mista*, Bust. xxi.

according to his pleasure, ratified all his privileges and revenues, reserved the bishopric of Lucca for him and also took his brother the City Prefect under his special protection.[1]

King Ferrante believed that the game was won and his throne secure. "When Peron de Basche," he wrote to his ambassador at the French court, "returns to France many projects will be abandoned and many illusions dispelled. Be of good courage, for between the Pope and me the greatest harmony exists."[2] Indeed at the time Alexander seemed about to throw over his alliance with Ludovico and Charles VIII. and willing to initiate a national policy. Had the Pope resolutely opposed the intentions of the French King at the beginning, he would undoubtedly have thwarted them. But Alexander was double-dealing by nature, and was soon to show that instead of ruling he always allowed himself to be ruled by circumstances.

The reconciliation with Julian Rovere, the Orsini and Naples put an end to the opposition of the elder cardinals; their consent to the projected creation of new cardinals had been made one of the articles of the treaty, and these appointments were assuredly now supported by the King. On September 20, 1493, the Pope ventured to elect twelve new cardinals, among whom was his own son. With utter unscrupulousness he had previously caused false witnesses to swear that Caesar was the son, born in lawful wedlock, of Domenico

[1] Brief, Venetian Archives, Lettere Minute Busta, 26.

[2] Trinchera, *Cod. Arag.*, ii. 2. 205.

Arignano. This falsehood was the first step in that fatal career into which he was drawn by love of his children. No judge of the Rota, scarcely a cardinal had the courage to utter a remonstrance, and Caesar became cardinal-deacon of S. Maria Nuova.[1] The purple was also awarded to Alessandro Farnese, son of Pier Luigi, a member of an old and noble family, to whom belonged Castel Farnese in the Tuscan Campagna. The man who afterwards became Paul III., who was first Proto-notary, then Bishop of Corneto, then Cardinal of S. Cosma and Damiano, owed his good fortune to his beautiful sister Julia, the mistress of the Pope.[2] Her relations with Alexander were universally known[3]; he had loved her while a cardinal, and her kinship with the

Caesar Borgia Cardinal, Sept. 20, 1493.

Julia Farnese

[1] *Contra hiscere nemo Rotae judicum, nemo Cardinalium ausus est:* Marina, l. xxvi. Infessura says that only seven cardinals agreed.

[2] Soriano, the Venetian orator, writes in 1535 of Pope Paul III.: *la sua promozione al cardinalato non fu molto honesta, essendo proceduta per causa oscena: cioè dall' amore e dalla familiarità che avea Alexs. VI. con la signora Giulia sua sorella; dal che nacque, che per lungo tempo fu chiamato il cardinale Fregnese. Relazione etc in Albéri*, ii. iii. 314.

[3] Matarazzo, *Cron. di Perugia, Arch. Stor. XVI.*, ii. 3, 4. Sannazaro Epigr., i. ii.:

Europen Tyrio quondam sedisse juvenco
Quis neget? Hispano Julia vecta bove est.

The traveller Bartol. Gastrow (*Autobiography*, ed. Monike, 1823, i. 344) informs us of these relations. Reading the reports concerning Cardinal Farnese also we seem to gaze into an abyss. See Henke on Roscoe's *Leo X.*, p. 344. In Germany a story was invented, that he had a wood of cypresses in Rome, where he conducted Constantia, Queen of Cyprus, Julia Farnese and other loose women at all times. *Geschichten aller Bischöff zu Rom.*, Heidelberg MS., n. 102, fol. 258. Redaction of the *Acta Paparum* of Ziegler, of which Ranke made use of a Cod. at Gotha and which I found at Heidelberg as Mscr., 97.

Orsini may probably have facilitated the treaty concerning Anguillara. For in 1439 the youthful Julia had married Ursinus Orsini, son of Ludovico Orsini, lord of Basanello and of Adriana del Mila, a near relation of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia. The marriage took place in legal form in the palace of this cardinal,[1] and after the conclusion of the treaty, the Pope gave Carbognano and Giulianello to the lady's husband.[2] Her sister Gerolima had married Puccio Pucci, who died in Rome as Florentine envoy on August 31, 1494. The letters of this lady, which are still preserved, show how close were the ties between Alexander VI. and the Farnese, especially after the elevation of the Cardinal.[3] Julia even dwelt like a relation of the Borgia in the palace near the Vatican with Lucrezia, the daughter of the

Alexander VI. and the Farnese family.

[1] The deed of May 20, 1489, is found in the Registrum Beneimbene.

[2] *El Sig. Ursino marito di Mª Julia sposa di Christo (!) di nuovo ha havuto in governo Carbognano et Julianello. Avvisi del tempo di P. Alex. VI. Arch. Flor. Carte Strozziane*, fil. 246.

[3] Letters of Gerolima of her brothers Angiolo and Alessandro, and of the Pucci, *ibid.*, filza 343. On October 18, 1493, Gerolima thanks the Pope: *Li benefici che la S. V. e degnata verso la casa mia sono di tanta exaltazione et gloria che mi pare debitissimo ringratiamento. . . . S. V. humil. serva Jeronima Farnesia de puccis.*—Cardinal Farnese writes (Rome, October 20, 1493) to Lor. Pucci, that the Pope and Cardinal Caesar were coming to Capodimonte (a property belonging to the Farnese near Montefiascone). He was to send delicate wines and fruit. His brother Angiolus writes to his brother-in-law Puccio from Capodimonte on October 23, 1493, concerning the same visit, and begs him to send Gerolima.—On October 26, 1493, Giovanella Gaetana de Farnesia writes from Capodimonte to Lorenzo and Gianozzo Pucci, that Cardinal Farnese had come, and that she was waiting for her daughter Gerolima.—Gerolima afterwards married Count Julian Anguillara, whose son Giambattista murdered her in Castel Stabbia about 1504. Litta, *Farnesi*, Tav. v.

Pope, and with Madonna Adriana Mila, her mother-in-law.[1] Of Romans, besides Farnese, Julian Cesarini also received the purple. The house of Cesarini, which the first cardinal of the name had rendered prominent at the time of the Council of Basle, now rose to influence. The foundations of this influence had been laid by the Proto-notary George, a younger brother of the celebrated cardinal and a friend of the Borgia. The two houses formed a close alliance in the time of Sixtus IV., for Gian Andrea Cesarini married Girolama Borgia, a natural daughter of Cardinal Rodrigo, on January 24, 1482.[2] The new cardinal Julian, however, was a brother of that Gian Andrea, and son of the wealthy Gabriel Cesarini, whom Alexander VI. appointed standard bearer of the Roman people.[3] Besides the Farnese this was the only Roman house to the rise of which the Borgia essentially contributed.

[1] Thus at Christmas 1493. Lorenzo Pucci to Gianozzo Pucci, Rome, December 24, 1493. Concerning Julia Farnese and her family connections the reader will find further particulars in my work, *Lucrezia Borgia*.

[2] Husband and wife died as early as 1483, and were buried in S. Nicola de' Cesarini.

[3] Ratti, *ibid.* Cesarini family. The genealogical tree is as follows:

Gabriel Cesarini married to Godina Colonna.

- Giovanni Giorgio, Gonfaloniere, married Marzia Sforza of S. Fiora, died 1532.
  - Julian Cesarini, Gonfaloniere, married Julia Colonna, died about 1564.
- Giovanni Andrea, married Girolama Borgia, died 1483.
- Julian, Cardinal, died 1510.

New cardinals.

In the creation of cardinals Spain was represented by Bernardino Carvajal, France by Jean de la Grolaye, Abbot of S. Denis, Germany by Raymund Perauld, a Frenchman by birth, but the favourite of Maximilian and Bishop of Gurk in Carinthia, England by John Morton, Venice by Domenico Grimani. Other Italians were Antonio de S. Giorgio of Milan, Bernardino Lunate of Pavia, and Ippolito of Este. This last was the son of Duke Ercole of Ferrara and Leonora of Aragon. He was a boy of only fifteen years, of exceptional beauty, who was later known to the world by his magnificence, his dissolute life, and by the verses of Ariosto.[1] Apart from Caesar's elevation, these appointments can scarcely be blamed, since several nations were taken into account. Naples alone was deliberately passed over. Alexander's later policy, of filling the Cardinal's College with Spaniards, was not yet evident. But he thus created his first instruments, in order by degrees to enslave the whole college.

[1] Casimir, son of King Casimir of Poland, is cited as the twelfth cardinal.

5. DEATH OF FREDERICK III., AUGUST 19, 1493 — MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS — DEATH OF FERRANTE—ALFONSO II. RECOGNISED BY THE POPE, APRIL 1494 — FLIGHT OF CARDINAL JULIAN TO FRANCE — OSTIA SURRENDERS TO THE POPE — CHARLES VIII. PREPARES FOR HIS ITALIAN CAMPAIGN —ALFONSO II. AND THE POPE IN VICOVARO, JULY 1494 — CHARLES'S DEPARTURE, AUGUST 1494— FIRST VICTORIES—ALFONSO'S WANT OF RESOLUTION —HIS AND THE POPE'S ALLIANCES WITH THE TURKS —DEATH OF GIAN GALEAZZO—LUDOVICO DUKE OF MILAN—THE COLONNA TAKE OSTIA — CHARLES VIII. IN PISA AND FLORENCE—THE ORSINI OPEN THEIR FORTRESSES TO HIM—THE POPE HOLDS NEGOTIATIONS — CHARLES'S ENTRY INTO ROME, DECEMBER 31, 1494.

Changes on two thrones meanwhile altered political conditions. On August 19, 1493, Frederick III. died, after an inglorious and inactive reign of nearly half a century. His son Maximilian had already been elected King of the Romans on February 16, 1486, and now succeeded without opposition to the German throne. Maximilian was the first German monarch who, some years later, called himself Elected Emperor of the Romans; and although his successors in the empire no longer took the crown of the Caesars, they continued to bear the title with the omission of the word "elected." A new era began, in which mediaeval ideas disappeared, and the links which united the German empire with Rome were severed.[1]

Death of the Emperor Frederick III., Aug. 19, 1493.

[1] Julius II. granted Maximilian the title of *Imperator electus* in

Death of King Ferrante, Jan. 25, 1494.

If the changes on the German throne made no impression on Italy, the death of the King of Naples was an event of great importance. Ferrante died on January 25, 1494, trembling before the storm which he saw ready to burst over his dynasty and which he had in vain striven to avert. Evil though the long reign of the son of Alfonso I. had been, nevertheless with prudent astuteness he had upheld the monarchy, had given it good laws, and, after the manner of all tyrants of that period, had glorified his reign with the fairest products of art and learning. In recent times circumstances had made him the representative of Italian nationality; he alone had averted foreign invasion and had kept a watchful eye over the movements of the Turks. He alone also had been able to set a limit to the policy of the Papacy. Men feared the aged, wicked and crafty monarch. In him died the last statesman among the princes of the time in Italy. His

Alfonso II., King of Naples.

son Alfonso now succeeded to the insecure throne, a man devoid of courage or intellect, proud, without moderation, cruel, false and vicious. The bull of Innocent VIII. had promised him the succession, but this was now disputed in the claims of the King of France, which were more threatening than ever. Alfonso consequently hastened by large offers to secure the support of the Pope, and with him to form an alliance against Charles. On February 1, 1494, with his customary double-dealing,

1508. From the time of Ferdinand I. onwards, immediately after their German coronation, all the emperors called themselves by this title, with the addition of the words "of German nation."

Alexander exhorted Christendom to support the King, who had resolved to turn his arms against the Turks, but when the French envoy requested the investiture of Naples for his master, the Pope refused, and ratified Alfonso's ambassadors.[1] The Consistory of April 18, when these proceedings took place and when he appointed Juan Borgia legate for the coronation at Naples, was tumultuous; the French envoy even threatened a Council. The Cardinals Ascanio, Lunate, Sanseverino, Colonna and Savelli formed a violent opposition, the soul of which was the deeply incensed Julian. He hated Alexander, with whom his reconciliation was only outward. He deserted the party of Naples, with which the Pope now entered into close alliance. He himself returned to Ostia, where he placed himself in correspondence with the Colonna, while the Orsini adhered to Naples. Neapolitan vessels under the command of the corsair Villamarina were already cruising in the neighbourhood of the Tiber. The Cardinal took ship secretly at Ostia on April 23, 1494, after having surrendered the fortress to his brother, the Prefect of the city. He hurried by Genoa to Avignon. Charles VIII. summoned him to Lyons, where he was received with great splendour on June 1, and Julian urgently besought the King to set forth without delay and make war on Rome and Naples. In his hatred of Alexander the celebrated cardinal was thus driven to the most disastrous alliance with France, and to the adoption of a policy

The Pope forms an alliance with Naples.

Julian Rovere escapes to France, April 1494.

[1] Bull of February 1 in Cherrier, *Hist. de Charles VIII., Roi de France*, Paris, 1862, i. 485.

which every upright Italian must have regarded as treachery to his country. In truth the man who afterwards became Julius II. was the most active instrument in the incalculable misery which later befell Italy.[1]

The Pope, learning of the cardinal's flight, sent troops against Ostia. The fortress surrendered in May to the papal general Niccolò, Count of Pitigliano, by means of a capitulation, which had been effected through the instrumentality of Fabrizio Colonna. Like his fugitive brother, the City Prefect was safeguarded by treaty.[2] The capture of the fortress was of the highest importance to the Pope; for Ostia, the key to Rome by the Tiber, now secured correspondence by sea with the King of Naples. Alfonso was crowned by the legate on May 7, and the same day Jofré Borgia was married to Sancia. The grateful King made his son-in-law Prince of Squillace, Count of Curiata and Lieutenant of the Kingdom; the Duke of Gandia he made Prince of Tricarico, Count of Claromonte, of Lauria and Carinola.[3]

Ostia surrenders to Alexander VI.

[1] *Omnium quae sub ejus seculi finem ac sequentis initium in Italia acciderunt malorum—fatale quoddam instrumentum: Belcarii Comment. rer Gallicar.*, v. 125; this opinion is that of Guicciardini, i. 69 (Freiburg edition).

[2] The treaty between Fabrizio and the Pope was drawn up in Italian: *Ex vol. VII. diversor. Alex. P. VI.*, Mscr. Barberini, 1074, fol. 168. On May 24, 1494, Alexander VI. wrote to Fabrizio: *quoniam tua cura et opera arx nostra Ostiensis nobis restituta est*, he promised that he should remain in peaceful possession of Grottaferrata, which Cardinal Julian had surrendered. Colonna Archives, *Brevè*, n. 41.

[3] Burkard accompanied the legates. He has minutely described the coronation festivals.

Agents of Charles VIII. meanwhile scoured Italy, in order to form alliances with cities and nobles, or to obtain a free passage for the French army.[1] Charles flattered the powerful, threatened the weak. In reading some of these French speeches, we might almost believe ourselves transported back to the times when Darius sent his plenipotentiaries to the Hellenic cities, before the waves of Persian barbarism broke over beautiful Hellas.[2] The Venetians returned an evasive answer and remained neutral. The republic of Florence likewise explained that she leaned towards France, but could not violate her alliance with Naples. The declaration embittered the French court against Piero Medici.[3] The lords of the frontier territories—Savoy, Saluzzo and Montferrat—had signified their consent; so also had Ercole of Ferrara, who was anxious to obtain possession of some districts on the Po.[4]

On the other hand we must acknowledge that Alexander VI. now adopted a resolute attitude against France. When Charles's envoys Eberhard d'Aubigny and Briçonnet came to Rome on May 16, protested against the investiture being granted to

[1] These negotiations began as early as the summer of 1493. On July 8, 1493, Peron came to Venice; little satisfied he went to Florence. Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, v. 26. He had been in Rome at the beginning of August.

[2] Legatio Gallicana in Godefroy.

[3] Answer of the Florentine Signory of May 6, 1494, to the four French ambassadors, Aubigny, S. Malò, Matharon and Basche: Desjardins, *Négociations*, i. 411.

[4] Baucaire, *Comm.*, v. 125, too strongly calls Ercole *totius hujus belli hortator*. Comines had gone as ambassador to Venice: *c'est la plus triomphante cité que j'aye jamais veue*, he exclaimed (c. 18).

Alfonso and demanded it for their King, the Pope explained that it had been legally awarded to the son of Ferrante and that a military expedition on the part of Charles would throw the whole State of the Church into confusion, and drive Alfonso into summoning the Turks to Italy. A violent scene took place in consistory: the Pope, irritated beyond the bounds of self-control by the audacious speeches of the French ambassadors, was soothed with difficulty.[1]

Condition of Italy before the invasion of Charles VIII.

The petty-minded domestic policy of the native princes opened the gates of Italy to a French invasion. The country had been more fortunate in the fifteenth century than almost ever before. Undisturbed by foreign invasion, she pursued her course of national development. None but Italian princes occupied her thrones; for even Aragon had shaken off his foreign origin, and the Papacy constituted itself an Italian power. The culture and wealth of its magnificently adorned cities were so great, that all other countries seemed barbarous when compared with Italy.[2] Art and learning had entered into the

[1] Speech and answer in the Legatio Gallicana; only a fragment, and in the form in which it is put hardly credible.

[2] Statistics of the revenues of Italy of the year 1492 (*Arch. Flor. Carte Strozz.*, App. F., ii. 189) give as follows: Savoy, 100,000 gold florins; Saluzzo, 10,000; Montferrat, 50,000; County of Asti, 12,000; Genoa, 100,000; Milan, 600,000; Mantua, 60,000; Ferrara, 120,000; Carpi and Correggio, 15,000; Bologna, 60,000; Venice, 1,000,000; Imola and Forli, 30,000; Faenza, 12,000; Rimini, 10,000; Urbino, 50,000; Pesaro, 15,000; Camerino, 10,000; Florence, 300,000; Lucca, 20,000; Siena, 60,000; Piombino, 20,000; the Church, 200,000; Orsini and Colonna, 25,000; Naples, 600,000. Another page enumerates the revenues of the Roman Church as follows: Spiritual dues, 60,000; *Piombo e registro*,

life of the Italians, and this cultured people was freer and more exempt from prejudices than any other in the world. The foreign powers looked with covetous gaze on this paradise of Europe, and found it unprotected and defenceless. The decay of civic virtue in the cities, the self-seeking and perfidy of the princes, the overthrow of the system of defence made Italy the prey of the first successful conqueror. After the power of the Empire had been overcome, the natural aim of the Italians should have been that of national federation. Such a scheme however was never entertained, all great national ideas being lost in the incessant war of the territorial powers. In ancient times these ideas had been cherished mainly by the burghers of the free cities; the liberty of the citizen class however had almost everywhere perished. Or it had rested on the moral power of the Papacy; and the Papacy, plunged as it was in a policy of nepotism, excited only fear or contempt. Princes ruled republics, which had formerly been free, only for the interest of their families. It thus happened that

36,000; Matrimonial affairs, 12,000; Venal offices, 15,000; Indulgences, 10,000; Doana del bestiame of Rome and the Patrimony, 16,000; Salt, 18,000; Thesaureria of the March and Romagna, 12,000; from Perugia, 6000; from the Roman Patrimony, 4000; from Ascoli, 3000; Wine tax from Bologna, 4000; Taxes from Ferrara and Bagnacavallo, 4000; from Urbino, 1400; from Faenza, 1000; Pesaro, 750; Forli, 1000; Imola, 300; Tribute from the lesser nobility, 500; *Subsidi directi*, 1500; *Entrate di Roma che vanno a Nos. Sig. Doana di ripa e ripetta*, 16,000; *delle merchantie*, 1000; *della grascia*, 6000; *Sale ed minute*, 6000; *Salara della marcha, romagna e foligno*, 10,000; *Summa Summar.*, 260,000. See Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica*, p. 252 f.

the parties of Anjou and Aragon took the place of Guelfs and Ghibellines, and this new party cry only represented a dynastic principle, nay, even the dominion of the foreigner itself. Lorenzo Medici, the only man who might have averted the ruin, was dead; his son Piero was incapable, and Florence herself—ruled by the influence of Savonarola, who discouraged the people with morbid visions of universal ruin—desired the coming of Charles, whom she regarded as a scourge sent by heaven against tyrants and the Roman Curia. The zeal of the monk found an echo in several cities, which, without being capable of freedom, yet hated their tyrants. Many longed for the arrival of Charles, from whom they expected a change of conditions, while the tyrants on their side hoped to aggrandise themselves by an alliance with him. So deplorable was the impotence of Italy in 1494, that a despot like Alfonso II., had his miserable defence against Charles's invasion been inspired by any national motives, would have shone conspicuous as the only patriotic prince.

The plan of this defence had already been conceived by his father. To prevent the advance of the French, Alfonso sent his son Ferrantino with an army to the Romagna, whence he was to threaten Lombardy, while Piero Medici engaged to defend the frontiers of Tuscany. At the same time a Neapolitan fleet assembled at Leghorn under Don Federigo, in order with the Fregosi and other exiles to make an attempt on Genoa, which was under Milanese power. The Pope was to protect

the State of the Church by troops stationed in Tuscany.

Meeting between the Pope and Alfonso at Vicovaro.

On July 14, 1494, Alfonso came to Vicovaro, a fortress belonging to Virginius Orsini. Here he met the Pope. Together they discussed measures for the common safety.[1] Circumstances were pressing. Lewis of Orleans had already arrived at Asti, awaiting the French fleet which Pierre d'Urfé was equipping in Genoa. But the King still wavered, and it was only the exhortations of Cardinal Julian that induced him to give the signal for departure. On August 29 he left Grenoble; on September 2 he crossed Mont Genèvre; on the 3rd he entered Piedmont. France had never beheld so splendidly equipped an army. It numbered 90,000 men, and there were more than 450 vessels. The infantry, especially the Swiss, formed the chief strength of the army, and a formidable body of artillery secured the French superiority over the Italians, among whom the traditions of the school of Sforza and Braccio had expired, and whose equipments, more especially those of the infantry, were antiquated. The King was accompanied by the Duke of Montpensier, the Marshal de Gié, Count Robert de la Marche, Engilbert of Clèves, the lords of Vendôme, Luxemburg and Foix, and several other nobles. At the head of the troops Charles himself presented anything but the aspect of a hero. He was a youth of twenty-two, short and deformed, with a

Departure of Charles VIII. for Italy, Aug. 1494.

[1] Burkard—Chigi, L. i. 11. Guicciardini, i. 69. On July 18 the Pope returned to Rome.

disproportionately large head, a long nose and emaciated legs. Clad in black satin and gold brocade, and seated on his charger, he could only appear the caricature of a conqueror. Profoundly ignorant, naturally good-tempered, filled with a morbid desire for fame, this goblin-like figure was nevertheless the instrument of history, and his adventurous enterprise produced a revolution in all European relations.[1]

At no moment of history does the genius of Italy seem so sadly obscured, as at the time when Charles VIII. crossed the Alps. The country had hitherto beheld no other royal expeditions than those of the emperors, who traversed it as an imperial domain. The shield of the empire had long protected Italy against foreign attacks; now for the first time for long centuries a foreign King appeared as a conqueror, merely on the ground of personal claims and invoked by self-seeking princes. The world looked with amazement on this military expedition; German patriots, filled with enthusiasm for the ideals of the past, regarded it with shame.

Charles VIII. at Asti.

In the beginning of September Charles entered Asti, where he was greeted by Ludovico Sforza, by his wife Beatrix of Este and by Beatrix's father Ercole. The King here fell ill of smallpox. Italy was stirred by the news of his arrival as she had

[1] See the portrait of Charles in *Relaz. di Zaccaria Contarini A.D.* 1492 in Albéri, Serie 1, vol. vi. 15. *Io tengo per fermo quod de corpore et de ingénio parum valeat.*—Charles VIII. was merely the arm, Ludovico Sforza the brain of the undertaking: Armand Baschet, *La Diplomatie Venitienne*, vol. i. 334, and in other places.

formerly been stirred by that of Henry VII. The Pope, the King of Naples, and Piero Medici sent envoys to Venice, to express their surprise that the republic should calmly look on while a foreign monarch prepared for the conquest of Italy. The Signory sent an evasive answer and declined to take part in a war against Charles. Venice at first did not believe in his enterprise, and when it took place did not believe in Alfonso's helplessness. None of the Italian powers rose in defence of their common fatherland, and Alfonso II. soon beheld all his plans of defence shattered. The attempt against Genoa was unsuccessful; on September 8 Charles's Swiss troops stormed Rapallo with such fury as to mow down the entire population. The news spread dismay through every city of Italy, for the Italians had hitherto been accustomed to plunder conquered enemies and then release them on payment of a ransom. The appearance of the French introduced a character of savage inhumanity into the system of war. Defeated and discouraged, Alfonso's fleet returned to Naples; his army in the Romagna was also defeated by d'Aubigny.

Attack on Rapallo Sept. 8 1494.

Alfonso was in despair. In vain he offered the conqueror a portion of his territories and an annual tribute. He even looked to the Crescent for rescue; his envoy Camillo Pandone and the papal secretary Bozardo were sent to represent that the King of France was advancing against Rome to seize Djem, in order, after the conquest of Naples, to place the prince on the throne of Constantinople. This embassy is undoubted, as are also Alexander's

notorious instructions to Bozardo, and his correspondence with the Sultan. On his return from Turkey in November, Bozardo was detained in Sinigaglia by the City Prefect, where the correspondence was found upon him by the Cardinal of Gurk. Giovanni Rovere also seized the 40,000 ducats, which the Sultan was sending the Pope by this envoy, and Alexander in consequence placed Giovanni under the ban.[1] He afterwards declared that the reports of his understanding with the Turks were calumnies of the Prefect.[2]

Alfonso and the Pope seek aid from the Turks.

Such however they were not, for on November 20, 1494, the Prefect of the city informed his brother Cardinal Julian of Bozardo's admissions and the instructions of the Pope, "which contained astounding and to Christianity most dangerous things,

[1] The letters are given by Burkard. The instructions to Bozardo of June 1494 are undoubted: the Pope begs the Sultan for the 40,000 ducats which he owed, and to send an orator to Venice, to induce the republic to make war on France. The correspondence of the Pope begins with a letter to the Sultan, of May 12, 1494, in which he recommends the new King of Naples. Original minute of the secretary, L. Podocatharus, *Bibl. Marciana Cl. Cod.*, 177. The style of the letter of the Sultan, in which he proposes the murder of Djem to the Pope, and promises him 300,000 ducats in return, does not appear genuine (Ranke, *zur Kritik neurer Geschichtschr.*), but the contents are not surprising. Malapiero says that Cardinal Julian gave the intercepted letters to Charles VIII. to read. H. Heidenheimer has tried to prove the authenticity of the letters, *Die Correspondenz Sultan Bajazet's II. mit Papst Alex. VI.* (*Zeitschr. f. K. G. V.*, 4, p. 512 f.).

[2] *Falsis machinationib. maculare conatus est contra nos fingens, quod cum Turcis sentiremus.* Instructions of Alexander VI. to the nuncios sent to Lewis XII. on his accession to the throne. Mscr. Barberini, xxxiii. 170.

whence it was evident that the Pope wished to sell Djem to the Grand Turk, whose aid he sought against France."[1]

From Asti Charles VIII. had gone to Pavia, where he fixed his head-quarters. Here in the Castle lay Gian Galeazzo, sick to death, poisoned as it was believed by his uncle. On the painful visit, which the King made to the unfortunate man, his near relation, the Duchess Isabella, threw herself at his feet and prayed him to uphold the rights of her husband. Charles merely returned empty words of consolation. And on his onward march he learned at Parma that the young Duke had died on October 22. The French nobles, suspecting a deed of violence, murmured loudly, but Ludovico hurried from the King's camp to Milan to seize the ducal throne. He already held the imperial investitures in his hands, since Maximilian (who had been married to Bianca Maria on December 1, 1493) had also conceded him the Milanese territory in fief on

Death of Gian Galeazzo, Oct. 22, 1494.

[1] The ambassador Manfredi to Eleonora d'Aragona, Flor., November 24, 1494 (*Atti e Mem. Modenesi*, iv. 334). The day before Cardinal Julian had shown him the letter of the Prefect, in which the Prefect says that he had intercepted the 40,000 ducats with the instructions of the Pope to Bozardo, which he was sending to him. (Then come the contents, as above.) The Cardinal told the envoy that Charles VIII. would hasten his expedition, as soon as he heard of the occurrence; the Pope had written to him (the Cardinal) entreating him to persuade the Prefect to give up the money, and to interest himself in his behalf, promising him in return the surrender of Ostia.—Cardinal Gurk told the Florentine orator that he had seen the Pope's letter to the Sultan and knew that the Sultan had offered him 200,000 ducats for Djem's murder: Aless. Braccio to the Ten, Perugia, April 8, 1496, *Arch. Flor. Cl. X.*, Dist. 4. n. 46.

Ludovico the Moor, Duke of Milan.

September 5, 1494.[1] A servile parliament proclaimed him duke to the exclusion of Francesco, the eldest son of the dead Sforza. Isabella's fate was profoundly tragic. She beheld her father on the brink of ruin, her blameless husband dead, her children deprived of their inheritance and exposed to misery. For hours she remained stretched on the hard floor of the room of the castle in Pavia. And in this castle she and her children were imprisoned.

Ludovico now hurried back to Charles VIII., but he had already reached the turning point in his policy. He was aware of the voices in the French camp, which counselled the King to occupy Milan, before he proceeded further. Having attained his own object, he gave ear to the representations of the Pope and Venice. The King was warned of Italian treachery, and Charles had already long been suspicious of his allies. He hesitated to advance. At length he resolved, instead of entering Naples through the Romagna, to proceed by way of Tuscany and Rome. For thence he received favourable tidings. The Colonna and Savelli, whom he had taken into his pay, were encamped with 4000 men and 600 horse at Frascati, whence they threatened Rome.[2] But nothing terrified the Pope so much as

[1] Bianca was delivered to Maximilian at Innsbruck on March 16, 1494 : *Naucler. Chron.*, p. 1111. In Corio (p. 473) the diploma of investiture is dated Antwerp, September 5, 1494. The execution of the investiture, Milan, May 28, 1495, in Rousset-Dumont, T. i. ii. 491.

[2] Mscr. Barberini, n. 3253 (entitled *Cose successe in Roma prima della venuta di Carlo VIII.*).

the fall of Ostia. Fabrizio Colonna took the fortress by assault on September 18 and planted the flags of France and of Cardinal Julian on its walls. Alexander informed the Doge and the King of Spain of its loss and implored their aid.[1] Had the Colonna commanded greater forces they would have reduced Rome to the direst need. Their intention was to take the city by assault, make the Pope a prisoner and seize Djem. Their plan was betrayed, and the Turkish prince was now closely guarded in S. Angelo.[2] The Pope excommunicated the Colonna; he caused the palaces of Prospero and Estouteville to be demolished. Filled with terror he saw French troops land at Ostia; for on October 16 Charles hurriedly sent a portion of his fleet from Genoa to the mouth of the Tiber, where they placed troops in the fortress and then sailed back. The revolt of the Colonna in Roman territory was successful in preventing Alfonso from appearing with his full strength against the French in the Romagna.[3]

Fabrizio Colonna occupies Ostia.

To Alexander's repeated exhortations that he would not advance further, the King vouchsafed no answer; he did not even give audience to Cardinal Piccolomini, who was sent to meet him. How changed were the times and the power of the Papacy! What fiery bulls of excommunication had not earlier popes addressed to princes; who, like

[1] Letters of September 22 and 28. Venetian Archives, *Lettere minute*.

[2] Filippo Valori to Pietro Medici, Terracina, October 9, 1494, in Desjardins, i. 457.

[3] This is said by Alfonso himself: *ibidem*, p. 475.

Conradin of Swabia, set forth to conquer Naples, the fief of the Church. Alexander VI. did nothing of the kind. He was in an insecure position and terrified of a Council which might condemn his simoniacal election. He now called on Ascanio Sforza, who had gone to the Colonna, to come to the city to confer with him, and sent his son Caesar as hostage to Marino (the head-quarters of the Colonna), to remain while the conference lasted. Ascanio, who came to Rome on November 2, allowed himself to be persuaded to journey to Tuscany to negotiate with the King.[1]

Charles VIII. in Tuscany.

While Montpensier drove the Neapolitans from the Romagna, Charles advanced through Tuscany. The bitter enemies of Florence, Lucca, Siena, but more particularly Pisa, which longed for the opportunity to throw off the Florentine yoke, offered him their aid. At the same time the thirst for freedom awoke in Florence itself; the enemies of the Medici raised their heads; in his sermons Savonarola greeted Charles as the messenger of God, the new Cyrus and conqueror of tyrants. The King found the passes of Pontremoli undefended. He took Fivizzano by storm. Prepared for an obstinate resistance, the French marvelled at their own good fortune. Comines asserted that God openly favoured their enterprise. Piero Medici, whose cousins Lorenzo and Giovanni (the sons of Pier Francesco) were in the camp of the King—beheld the growing disturbances and lost all self-command. He hurried

[1] Burkard—Chigi, L. i. ii., p. 378. Ascanio left by Ostia, and Caesar returned.

to Charles at Sarzanella, emulating in the most senseless manner the example of his great father's journey to Naples, and offered the conqueror more than he asked—namely the well-equipped fortresses of his country. The popular indignation burst forth on the following day, November 3, on the return of the despicable man to Florence. Piero escaped to Bologna, his brother Julian and Cardinal Giovanni following him in disguise. A resolution of the people pronounced the Medici under the ban.

Piero Medici exiled from Florence.

The same day Pisa rose and received Charles VIII., who promised to protect her liberties. Florentine envoys appeared before him, among them Savonarola, to conclude a treaty. The King told them that he contemplated doing this in Florence. The Guelf republic, which had formerly been so powerful, which had defied so many Emperors, surrendered itself defenceless to the King of France. Bearing his lance in rest, Charles VIII. entered in warlike guise on November 17. Nothing but the civic pride of a single burgher, Piero Capponi, who tore the treaty in the face of the foreign despot, and thereby forced him to make favourable conditions, mitigates the humiliation of the city. Charles promised to surrender the Tuscan fortresses, also those of Pisa, at a fixed time, remained satisfied with 120,000 gold florins, and did not insist on the return of the Medici.

Charles VIII. enters Florence, Nov. 17, 1494.

On November 22 he issued a manifesto, in which he veiled his true purpose—the conquest of Naples—with the scheme of the Turkish war and required from the Pope free passage through the State of

the Church. He left Florence on November 28, and reached Siena on December 2, thence to advance on the Patrimony of Peter. Here, on December 4, Cardinal Piccolomini at length succeeded in obtaining audience of the King. Charles however only replied by vague words.[1] Alexander in Rome was utterly perplexed. As at the beginning of the French invasion he found himself in a painful difficulty, for neither would he break with Naples nor draw upon himself the wrath of the French monarch. If so powerful a King came to Rome with his army, then must the enemies of the Borgia triumph. Cardinal Julian accompanied the approaching conqueror; the Ghibellines discussed the probability on his entrance of a Council deposing the guilty Pope. The consciousness of his simoniacal election caused Alexander greater anxiety than any other consideration; he was and remained a usurper of the Sacred Chair. Ostia was garrisoned by French troops; the Colonna and their adherents rendered Latium unsafe, and stretched forth their hands to the enemy. Would the Orsini in Tuscany be able to check his progress? In any case Alexander determined in the beginning to defend by arms the entrance to the State of the Church against the French. He sent troops to Viterbo, but Viterbo would not receive them.[2] Wavering

Perplexity of Alexander VI. in Rome.

[1] Letter of the Cardinal to Alexander VI., Siena, December 4, 1494, in *Epistolae Ill. Viror. Bibl. Marciana Cl. X.*, Cod. clxxiv., which contains the manuscript correspondence of the Cardinal to the Pope, from Lucca, Siena etc., from October onwards.

[2] On December 2 tidings of the circumstances reached Ferrara. The troops were accompanied by Cardinal Farnese, *fratello*

to and fro, he looked around for escape. He sent for the imperial envoy Rudolf of Anhalt and through him appealed to Maximilian, the lawful advocate of the Church, whom he exhorted to defend the rights of the empire against French usurpation. He provided S. Angelo with victuals and ammunition, caused arms to be distributed and summoned the burghers to the defence of the city. He brought his troops to Rome, and here also summoned the young Duke of Calabria, Virginius Orsini, the Counts of Pitigliano and Trivulzio; these leaders with their troops had been obliged to leave the Romagna, after the Florentines under Annibale Bentivoglio and the papal troops had left to defend Tuscany and the State of the Church. On December 10 the Neapolitan army, 5000 infantry and 1100 horse strong, entered the city.[1] Their presence gave Alexander courage to venture a cunning stroke against his adversaries. On December 2 Ascanio had returned from his mission to the King, accompanied by French envoys; he, the Cardinals Sanseverino and Lunate, Prospero Colonna and Girolamo Estouteville, whom —under promise of safe-conduct—Alexander had invited to Rome to discuss matters, were seized by the Pope's command on the day of the entry of the Neapolitans and confined in S. Angelo.[2] In

The Neapolitan army enters Rome, Dec. 10.

di madonna Julia fante del Papa. Caleffini, MS., Chigi, p. 325.

[1] *In questhora el Ducha de Calabria é intrato dentro di Roma. . . .* Despatch of Brognolus to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, December 10, 1494: Gonzaga Archives.

[2] Burkard—Chigi, p. 389. Mscr. Barberini, 3253, p. 2.

the confusion the French envoys themselves were seized, but were soon released. Alexander explained to these nobles that he would not allow the King a free passage through Roman territory.

Charles had already advanced to Viterbo, which he entered on December 10. Not an enemy showed his face; only a terrified people, who opened the cities. The French sacked even the poorest places.[1] Tidings of their proceedings, as also the news that they had taken captive Julia Farnese, reduced the Pope to the direst terror. On November 27 Alexander's mistress with Madonna Adriana had set forth from the Farnese fortress to join her brother the Cardinal at Viterbo, but on the way had fallen across a band of French soldiers, who carried the two women and their attendants to Montefiascone. On receiving the news the Pope sent a chamberlain to Ascanio at Marino to procure their freedom, and he succeeded.[2] He sent messengers to Charles to implore him not to advance further, but rather to make a treaty with him. At the same time he made preparations for the defence of Rome. On December 16 he summoned Burkard, the master of the ceremonies, and other Germans to the palace and exhorted them to arm

[1] As Ischia. See the letter of complaint of this commune to the Balia of Siena: *Ex castro ischie die* 29. *Nov.* 1494. *Cie* 1200 *cavalli in questa terriccioula et scassano le case et robbano omgni omo di che cie neccessario abandonare la terra e lassarla alloro per li loro mali portamenti.* Siena Archives, *Lett. a Balia A.* 1494.

[2] Caleffini, p. 325. George Brognolus, the agent from Mantua, gives a full account of the occurrence, Rome, November 29, 1494 (Gonzaga Archives). He speaks of it as *Gran scorno dei Pontifice.*

their numerous compatriots. He made the same request to the Spaniards. On December 17 Burkard summoned a council of Germans in the Ospedale dell' Anima. The result was deplorable. Some innkeepers, merchants and artisans met and explained that they could not obey the commands of the Pope, being obliged to follow those of the regionary captains. Nothing perhaps more clearly shows the utter incertitude of Alexander than this Council in the Anima.[1] So dejected, so irresolute did the Pope show himself to the last hour, that the opinion of those writers who speak of him as a strong character must excite surprise. He knew not what to do. He wished to defend himself and to flee at the same time. On December 18 the furniture of the palace was packed, even to his bed and table requisites. All the valuables of the papal chapel were brought to S. Angelo; the horses of the Curia stood ready. Nothing but the representations of the envoys of Venice and Spain and those of the cardinals induced him to remain.[2]

Astonished at the defenceless condition of the State of the Church, Charles VIII. traversed the patrimony of Peter. Everywhere he installed the

[1] For this incident, see the *Cod. Chigi*, p. 391. Joh. Angelus Hospes Campanae (one of the best hotels in Rome), Gaspar, host of the "Angelo"; 6 shoemakers, 2 merchants, 1 barber, 1 surgeon, 1 tailor came to the conference. *Responderunt omnes, se esse obligatos capitibus regionum urbis quorum mandatis haberent in hujusmodi necessario obedire.* In the fifteenth century the German shoemakers and bakers formed guilds of their own in Rome. A. Waal, *Die Nationalstiftungen des deutschen volks in Rom* (*in Frankfurter zeitgemässe Broschüren*, 1880, i.).

[2] Burkard—Chigi, p. 412.

French as governors.[1] From Viterbo he had sent La Tremouille to the Pope, to demand the dismissal of the Neapolitans from Rome, supplies and free passage. Should his demands be refused he would enter the city by force of arms. On December 15 he advanced to Nepi, and here to his surprise the Orsini arrived to make a treaty with him. These powerful barons stood in closest alliance with Naples. Their leader Virginius, Grand-constable of the Kingdom and recognised as a relation of the house of Aragon, was in the Neapolitan service in Rome. Necessity however compelled him to open his fortresses in the Patrimony to the King, for which purpose he sent his bastard son Charles to the French monarch. On December 19 the bastard received the King in the Castle of Bracciano, where Charles set up his head-quarters.[2] The subjugation of the Orsini completely shook the courage of the Neapolitans, as well as of the Pope.[3] Utterly terrified, Alexander released Cardinal San-

Charles VIII. in the patrimony,

in Bracciano.

[1] Comines, vii. c. 11. The circumstances of Charles VIII.'s campaign are recorded day by day in the Journal of André de la Vigne, secretary to Anne of Bretagne, see Godefroy, *Hist. du Roy Charles VIII.*, Paris, 1684. This journal renders the same services to this expedition as the Rendages of Gille to that of Henry VII.

[2] *Ferronus de reb. gest. Gallor.*, p. 13. Comines, vii. c. 12, concerning the parties of the Colonna and Orsini observes: *quand ne seroit ce differend, la terre de l'Eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les subjets, qui sont en tout le monde* (*car ils ne payent ne tailles, ne gueres autres choses*), *et seroient toujours bien conduits* (*car toujours les Papes sont sages et bien conseillez*).

[3] Charles remained in Bracciano from the 19th until the 31st December (de la Vigne, p. 122). This castle had been built by Napoleon Orsini (who died in 1480), the father of Virginius.

severino on December 19, in order to send him as mediator to Charles. He also made a treaty with the Colonna on December 18. Prospero was to be released from S. Angelo, in order that he might persuade his brother to surrender Ostia. He was to remain in Alfonso's and the Pope's service for an annual salary of 30,000 florins; all his fortresses were to be restored to him. Prospero went to Ostia, but, as was to be expected, his mission produced not the slightest result.[1] On the contrary, Charles, to whom Corneto and Civita Vecchia had already yielded, sent troops under Louis Allegre to the fortress of Ostia, whither Cardinal Julian repaired in person. And scarcely had he appeared, when Prospero openly deserted to the royal camp. At the same time Marshal Rieux crossed the Tiber and entered Marsian territory.[2]

The dismay in the Vatican became ever greater. The enemy from Ostia was nightly expected. French cavalry already scoured the country to Monte Mario. True that 6000 Neapolitans remained in the city, but the Pope refused to allow them to occupy S. Angelo. The populace would not even hear of defence; on the contrary the citizens and members of the Curia demanded a treaty with the King. Alexander now contemplated flight to Venice, and on December 23 it was not known in the royal camp whether the French were to appear before Rome as friends or

[1] Mscr. Barberini, 3253, p. 2.

[2] Pilorgerie, *Campagne et Bull. de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII.*, 1494–1495. Paris, 1866, p. 110.

foes. On the same day the Cardinal of Gurk, who accompanied Charles, wrote a letter to Rome to pacify the Germans, Flemish and Burgundians, who remained there, with the assurance that the royal lieutenant Montpensier had received orders to spare the life and property of all citizens, more especially of the subjects of Maximilian and Philip of Burgundy.[1]

On December 24 the Pope assembled the Consistory, and here explained to the Duke of Calabria that the departure of the Neapolitan troops was absolutely necessary. On receiving the information, Don Ferrantino, indignant at the defection of the Pope, quitted the assembly. The Pope himself was so utterly irresolute that he thought of accompanying the Neapolitans and taking Prince Djem with him. On December 25 he made a formal treaty with the Duke, by the terms of which it was agreed that Alexander with the Curia and the Sultan could take refuge in the Kingdom. As long as he remained there he was to receive 50,000 ducats a year, 10,000 more for Djem, who was to be conducted in safety to Gaeta, and this fortress itself was to be surrendered to Cardinal Caesar.[2]

Withdrawal of the Neapolitans from Rome.

The same day (Christmas) Charles sent fresh envoys to Rome, the Seneschal of Beaucaire, the

[1] The letter to the German prelates is dated *ex Formello*, in Campagnano, Raynald, n. 26.

[2] *In Roma a di* 25. *de Dicem.* 1495 (1494 ordinary style). Theiner, iii. n. 426. That Alexander still thought of flight on December 25 is shown by his brief to Cardinal S. Prassede, see Raynald, n. 21 ad A. 1495, which, as Mansi rightly supposes, belongs to the year 1494.

Grand Marshal de Gié, the President of the Paris parliament de Ganay. He peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of the Neapolitans and the admission and keep of the French army; he explained however that he did not require anything but free access to Naples, and that he would respect the rights of the Pope. Alexander now acceded to the King's request; he sent the Cardinal of Monreale to him and also released Ascanio from his imprisonment. Charles's entry was fixed for December 31. Some cardinals, more especially Ascanio and Sanseverino, requested the King to make his abode in the Vatican beside the Pope. The palace near S. Marco, however, was chosen for his dwelling, and for their safety Alexander received the envoys of the foreign powers and the Cardinal of Naples in the Vatican. No Frenchman was to enter the Borgo. The disposal of the troops and the maintenance of order were entrusted to a commission which consisted of the Cardinal of S. Denis, the governor and the conservators. On December 30 Montpensier was to enter as French governor.[1] Meanwhile, on December 25, the Duke of Calabria had already withdrawn to Tivoli, but not being received within its walls, he proceeded onwards to Terracina, laying waste the farms on the Campagna.[2]

Treaty concerning the entry of Charles VIII. to Rome.

[1] The treaty was concluded on December 28. See the despatches of Brognolo to the Marquis of Mantua, December 29 and 30.

[2] Burkard — Chigi, p. 419, says that the Duke took his leave in Consistory on December 24; the Agent Brognolo announced his departure as taking place on December 25. He had already left Rome on this day, with Virginius Orsini, Trivulzio, Pitigliano and Pescara. Of this we are also informed by Marin Sanudo in his

The excitement in Rome knew no bounds. The entrance of a foreign King with his army was now a fact, and already, on December 27, 1500 French troops entered with the permission of the Pope. The Romans displayed the French arms before their doors, so that the whole city was covered with them.[1] On the morning of December 31 envoys of the citizens went to meet the King: Jerome Porcaro, Ascanio de Planca, Mario Millini, the Chancellor Cristoforo del Buffalo, Jacopo Sinibaldi. They were to recommend the welfare of the city to his care and to accompany him thither. With these men there went as envoys of the Pope the Bishop of Nepi and Burkard, Master of Ceremonies. In this most critical hour this court official was less troubled by the danger that menaced the Papacy than that which threatened the ritual of the Church and hastened to meet the conqueror "to inform him of the ceremonial of his reception." Charles VIII. received the deputies at Galera. To Porcaro, who spoke in the name of the Romans, he scarcely vouchsafed an answer; he informed the Master of the Ceremonies, that he would enter without solemnity of any kind. He made Burkard ride beside him four miles of the way and questioned him with curiosity concerning the personality of the Pope and his son Caesar. Unfortunately in his

Venuta di Carlo VIII. in Italia, a writing which may serve as an introduction to his celebrated diary. The MS. itself is in the Paris library; a copy, of which I made use, has been among the State Archives in Venice since 1873; it has since been printed by R. Fulin in the Archivio Veneto.

[1] *Venuta di Carlo VIII. in Italia.*

memoirs the papal courtier has not recorded how he extricated himself from the difficulty.[1]

Charles VIII. enters Rome, Dec. 31, 1494.

The entry of the French troops began about three o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until nine in the evening.[2] The King himself reached the Porta del Popolo about seven o'clock, where, according to treaty, the Grand Marshal received all the keys of the city. As in Florence, Charles rode in warlike attitude, his lance at rest. By his side were the Cardinals Julian and Ascanio, behind the Colonna and Savelli. He was surrounded by a magnificent escort of cavalry and bodyguards. Preceding him came some thousand Swiss and Germans, a splendid force of infantry with broad swords and long lances, in tight, short and many-coloured uniforms. He was followed by 5000 Gascons, almost all archers, short, ugly men; then by cavalry in ponderous armour, among them the flower of the French nobility, 5000 horse strong. But what excited the greatest admiration was the artillery; thirty-six bronze cannons, each eight feet long, and weighing six thousand pounds, and conveyed on carriages; also culverins and smaller artillery. The sight of these troops as they passed through Rome by torchlight inspired terror, more especially as the fitful illumination caused men, horses and arms to appear more than their natural

[1] *Et de tot aliis interrogans, quod vix potui ad singula pertinenter respondere.* Burkard—Chigi, p. 422. Two Venetian envoys and Cardinal Ascanio met the King at Borghetto.

[2] Bouchet, *Historie de Loys de la Tremouille*, in Godefroy, p. 212. Official bulletin, published in France as *Entrée du roi à Rome*, dated January 12. See Pilorgerie, p. 143 ff.

size. The Via Lata, the present Corso, as far as S. Marco, was illumined by lanterns and fires. The dismayed people shouted France! France! Colonna and Vincula![1]

He dwells in the palace of S. Marco.

The King made his abode in the palace of S. Marco, which was then the dwelling of Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, Archbishop of Benevento, who hurried to meet him as he alighted and accompanied him to the rooms prepared for his reception.[2] Artillery was mounted round the palace; 2000 cavalry occupied the Campo di Fiori. Other troops were dispersed throughout the City at the points of greatest importance.

The entrance of a French King with an army was an event unexampled in the annals of the city. Men feared the overthrow of all existing conditions, feared that Rome itself might be sacked. Many of the citizens buried their valuables.[3] People

[1] Jovius, *Histor.*, ii. 33, gives an excellent description of Charles's troops.—Chroniques at the end of Monstrelet, iii. 220. Branca de Tellini, MS. Barberini, gives the army as from 30,000 to 40,000 men. Of the King he says: *lo più brutto viso, che havesse mai uomo.*

[2] Marin Sanudo (*Venuta di Carlo VIII.*) gives a remarkable description of the entry. When the King retired he caused his slippers to be put on, went into the dining room, seated himself by the fire, had his hair and beard combed and then went alone to table. A chamberlain tasted every dish; after he had partaken of it, the remains were thrown into a miniature silver vessel on the table. The wine was examined by four of the royal physicians; before the King drank, the chamberlain drew a piece of the horn of a unicorn, attached to a gold chain, several times through the goblet.

[3] In the Casa Zio, at Venice, was shown, in 1512, a beautiful porphyry cup, the work of the Florentine stone-cutter Pietro Maria, *la quale ascose in Roma sotto terra, alla intrata da Re Carlo, con*

asked, what would the Pope do now? What would the King do with him? Filled with the consciousness of guilt, Alexander, surrounded by some cardinals, sat in the Vatican, the entrance to which was protected by S. Angelo, while his entire power in the Borgo only consisted of 1000 horse and some infantry.[1] He looked thence by night into the torch-lit streets, heard the sound of the French troops as they marched by, and trembled before the most terrible of all thoughts, that of a Council, before which, it was said, his enemies inevitably would cite him.

6. Charles VIII. holds Negotiations with the Pope—Treaty of January 15, 1495—Departure of the King—Flight of Cardinal Caesar—Alfonso's Abdication—Ferdinand II. succeeds to the Throne—Charles VIII. in Naples—Death of Djem—League against Charles, March 1495—He leaves Naples—Flight of the Pope to Orvieto—Charles VIII. in Rome—His Victory on the Taro, July 6, 1495—His Return to France—Alexander's Return to Rome—Destruction of the French Army in Naples—Inundation of the Tiber, December 1495.

Two days after Charles's entrance Caesar Borgia and the other cardinals, Orsini and Caraffa excepted, waited upon the King. He received them without

molte altre sue cose. Notizia di Anonimo, ed. Morelli, Bassano 1800, p. 71.

[1] The number given by Brognolo, despatch of January 4, 1495.

The Pope holds negotiations with Charles VIII.

honour. Negotiations were carried on respecting the basis of a treaty, for which the Pope had entrusted Carvajal, Pallavicini and Riario with plenary powers. To save what was to be saved by skill, to secure the throne, to avert the storm from his own head, and finally to outwit the King was now the task of the Borgia. He found himself at the most critical moment of his life : a prisoner in the hands of the mightiest of princes, whose cannon might destroy S. Angelo in a few hours ; an object of hatred to ruthless enemies who surrounded the King, while the intentions of this King were still a secret. The cardinals of the opposition, Julian, Gurk, Sanseverino, S. Denis, Savelli, Colonna and Ascanio, besought Charles to come forward as reformer of the Church, to bring to trial and depose the Pope, who had been elected by simony, and place a worthy man on the Sacred Chair. The decree of deposition was already drawn up.[1] Ascanio, the author of Borgia's election, now his bitter enemy, probably cherished the hope of becoming his successor. Had Charles VIII. seconded the opposition, he would have called forth a greater revolution in the Church than his expedition had produced in Italy. The most Christian King seemed to have been led to Rome by a higher hand to reform the corrupt Curia, and undoubtedly the world, from which this reform was withheld, would gladly have accorded him the dictatorship, which had formerly been exercised by great Saxon

[1] Disp. di B. Navagero, Rome, May 21, 1577 : MS. Foscarini, 6255, quoted in the article "The Borgias and their latest Historian" (*North British Review*, January 1871, p. 355).

and Frankish emperors for the benefit of Christendom. It lay entirely within his powers to deliver the Church from Alexander VI., and never would the figure of a Caesar Borgia have acquired historic importance had Charles VIII. been capable of a great resolve in 1495.[1] But was a man so young and unimportant, a man who thought of nothing beyond the empty fame of military conquests, capable of such a resolve? His confidant Briçonnet had been won to Alexander's side by the promise of a cardinal's hat, and the King declined the invitation of the opposition and remained satisfied with extorting a favourable treaty from the Pope. And this was the salvation of the Borgia.

He shuts himself up in S. Angelo.

Acts of violence committed in the city by the French induced Alexander to enter S. Angelo on January 6, whither he was followed by the cardinals Caraffa, S. Anastasia, Monreale, Orsini and Caesar.[2] The fortress was garrisoned by Spanish mercenaries; its walls however were weak, and a portion had fallen shortly before the King's entrance. When a

[1] *Combien qu'il eut le pouvoir, mais qu'il l'eut sceu bien faire, je croy que toutes gens de cognoissance et raison, l'eussent tenu à une bonne grande et très saincte besogne.* Comines, c. 15. Letter of Mons. S. Malò to the Queen, Rome, January 13. The King desired the reformation, *mais ne veut point entreprandre de sa deposicion:* Pilorgerie.

[2] This date in Burkard—Chigi, p. 437, contradicts the statement that Alexander had only sought shelter in the fortress for a short time. The Pope himself says (Monitor. to Charles, August 5, 1495): that terrified by the excesses *in arcem S. Angeli confugere coacti fuerimus.* Malipiero, p. 384. That with the Orsini Pitigliano had attacked a French camp near S. Apollinare is a mistake. He had long since departed with the Neapolitans.

second fall of the kind took place, the enemies of the Pope saw a divine message in the accident. Although the Romans refused to hear of defence, their national feeling was nevertheless stirred when they beheld a foreign king ruling in their city. They regarded the overbearing "barbarians" with hatred. Frenchmen forcibly took possession of the houses of citizens; as early as January 3 they sacked the dwellings of wealthy prelates. Jews were strangled in the Ghetto, and Romans on their side stabbed Frenchmen. The French military commander had gallows erected on the Campo di Fiori, and caused some of the thieves as well as Romans to be hanged. On January 8 soldiers forced their way into the house of Paul de Branca and killed his two sons. Gascons and Swiss attacked the bank, and Marco Mattei was stabbed. To the great mortification of the Pope, they even sacked the palace of Vanozza, the mother of his children, which stood on the Piazza Branca.[1]

The French sack Rome.

Charles demanded the surrender of S. Angelo; the Pope refused it. "If it is attacked," said he, "I will take my stand on the walls of the fortress with the most sacred relics."[2] Twice the King caused the artillery to be directed against it, but no shot was fired. Had Alexander opened S. Angelo,

[1] Feria V., January 8.—*Expoliata similiter et Domus Rosae Matris R. D. Card. Valentini:* Burkard—Chigi, p. 430. These facts, concerning which Eccard is silent, were known to Tomasi: *Vita di Cesare Borgia.*

[2] Mscr. Barber., 3253, p. 5. On January 4 Brognolo writes that the fortress could hold out for six months (?), *ma chi conosce la natura del Papa timido: crede che lhabia a piegarsi.*

he would have surrendered himself defenceless into the hands of his enemy. He therefore insisted on Charles renouncing his demand for its occupation. The King continued to carry on negotiations concerning the treaty, while he held his court with great magnificence in the Palace of S. Marco, where the sumptuous halls were constantly filled with Roman nobles and cardinals. The despicable Piero Medici appeared there in daily attendance.[1] On January 13 Charles for the first time showed himself publicly in Rome. Accompanied by his guards, he frequently rode through the city to view the churches and monuments. In his religious zeal he each day visited one of the seven churches to attend mass and inspect the relics. But Alexander's obstinacy excited the impatience and anger of the French; on January 13 they sacked various parts of the city; the Jewish synagogues were destroyed.[2]

Finally on January 15 the following treaty was concluded. Alexander pledged himself to surrender Terracina, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo and Spoleto to Charles; only to appoint such rectors as were acceptable to him in the State of the Church; to surrender Prince Djem to his keeping; and to grant amnesties to such cardinals and nobles as were partisans of France. Cardinal Caesar was to accompany the King for four months as legate; Treaty with Charles VIII., Jan. 15, 1495.

[1] *Pietro de Medici è qua, molto privato et ogni di è a casa della M^ta del Re.* Brognolo's Despatch, Rome, January 4, 1495.

[2] Malipiero, p. 330: *Francesi ha sachezà da nuovo meza Roma:* the reason, because the Pope *non ha mai vogiù dar resposta alle proposte del Re.* De la Vigne. Florus in Godefroy: *omnia foedari, bona civium diripi*— Ferronus, p. 14.

Ostia was to be restored to Cardinal Julian; S. Angelo was to be garrisoned by papal troops.[1]

This treaty, which, as Comines judged, was too strict to be observed, made Charles master of the State of the Church, but delivered Alexander from his most imminent danger, since the King solemnly promised to recognise him as pope and to defend him in all his rights. The opposition were seriously offended. Ascanio and Lunate left Rome in indignation to betake themselves to Milan. The others unwillingly remained in order not to separate from the King.

On January 16 the first meeting between the King and Pope took place, according to forms which had been determined beforehand. While the Pope was carried from the fortress, the King appeared as it were by accident in the garden, at the entrance to the covered passage. The third time that he bent his knee before the Pope, Alexander hastened forward and embraced him. Both covered their heads at the same moment and then proceeded to the Vatican.[2] The astute Borgia might look with contempt on the young monarch, in whose power the Papacy, Rome and Italy stood, and who derived so little advantage from his truly im-

[1] The document in French is also given in Molini, *Docum.*, i. 22. Only Civita Vecchia is there spoken of; the other fortresses are not mentioned. It is scarcely possible to establish the correct text of the treaty.

[2] Before entering the palace, the Pope had a fainting fit, perhaps only for the sake of being seated during the ceremony. Burkard—Chigi, p. 2061. According to Marino Sanudo (*Venuta*, etc.) the King dwelt in the Vatican from January 16 to 24; then once more in S. Marco.

perial position. Charles requested the red hat for Briçonnet, and the Pope immediately bestowed it on the royal favourite. On January 19 he beheld with satisfaction the conqueror of Italy appear in Consistory to render him the obedience which he had hitherto refused. The King kissed his hand and foot and pronounced the prescibed words. "I have come to tender obedience and reverence to your Holiness, as my predecessors the Kings of France have been wont to do." The President of the Paris parliament then explained that the Most Christian King had come to acknowledge and do homage to the Pope as Vicar of Christ and successor of the Prince of the Apostles. On the following day, when, to solemnise the reconciliation, Alexander celebrated mass in S. Peter's, the King handed him the censer and then took his modest stand below the first cardinal-bishop. In the Chapel of S. Petronilla he performed the absurd miracle of the Royal House of France; the Romans watched him with astonishment, probably surprised that the great monarch only wished to heal their scrofulous patients and not the evils of their Church.[1] On January 21 Alexander gave the King's cousin Philip of Luxemburg the red hat also, and on January 25 rode with the King publicly through Rome. Both made outward display of their intimate alliance, but neither trusted the other. The Ghibellines grumbled. When the Cardinal of

Charles VIII. renders obedience to the Pope, Jan. 19, 1495.

[1] *En un lieu dit la chapelle de France là ou il toucha et guerit les maladies des escrouëlles: dont ceux des Italiens voyans ce mystere, ne furent onc si esmerveillez.* Monstrelet, iii. 220.

Gurk according to treaty received absolution from the Pope, he did not hesitate in the presence of cardinals Orsini and Riario to reproach him with his simoniacal election, his vices and his treacherous alliance with the Turks.[1]

One object however Charles VIII. could not obtain. This was the investiture of Naples, which the Pope refused. He was impatient to set forth for the Kingdom, whither he had already sent troops in advance under Fabrizio Colonna and Robert de Lenoncourt, to incite the Abruzzi to revolt. He still dreamed of an expedition against Constantinople; he explained that the rights to the Empire of the East had passed from the last Palaeologus to the crown of France. Andrew, Despot of the Morea, still lived in miserable circumstances in Rome, and here on September 6, 1494, in presence of the Cardinal of Gurk, he had ceded to King Charles by deed his rights over Byzantium.[2] Charles's crusade was actually expected; poets in Rome exhorted him to the enterprise.[3] On the day of his departure Djem

[1] Burk.—Leibnitz, p. 33.

Draft of the Cession: *Mem. de l'acad. royale des inscript. et belles lettr.*, Paris, 1751, xvii. 572. This document, executed on September 6, 1494, at S. Pietro in Montorio by the notaries *Franc. de Schracten* and *Camillo de Beneimbene*, was preserved in the Protocol of Beneimbene until 1740. Benedict XIV. presented the original to the King of France, and caused a copy to be inserted in the register. This with the official attestations of the French ambassador, the Duke de S. Aignan, is to be found in the Registrum Beneimbene.

[3] A poem of this nature is preserved in the Munich Codex of Hartmann Schedel: *Ad ser. atque glor. Francie Reg. Carol. Francisci Rococioli Mulinensis silva quae dicitur Gallia furens — edita A.* 1494, 16. *Kal. Oct.*

was surrendered to him in S. Marco. The King heard mass there, dined with the Pope and took his leave. He quitted Rome on January 28, 1495, by the same Via Latina by which Charles of Anjou had marched against Manfred two hundred and twenty-nine years before. Now as then the spring was early. Now as then the undertaking seemed foolhardy and adventurous. The question was that of conquering a well-armed kingdom, while at any moment open and concealed enemies might appear from behind. Since the conquest of Otranto, Alfonso had been looked on as the foremost general in Italy; he was believed to be immensely wealthy; the fortresses in his kingdom were indeed excellently equipped and numerous troops stood in his pay. But in 1495 the power of Naples was seen to be merely a hideous mask. Tyranny reaped the harvest of her bloody seed.

Charles VIII.'s departure from Rome, Jan. 28, 1495.

No sooner had Charles VIII. entered Rome than the Prince of Calabria crossed the Liris, and the entire Kingdom was in ferment. Scarcely had the first French troops appeared in the Abruzzi, when Aquila reared the French standard and the partisans of Anjou rose on every side. Alfonso in the castle at Naples fell a prey to utter despair. If the waves roared at night, he imagined that they cried France! France! Trees, stones, everything seemed to shriek the one word in his ear.[1] Oppressed by the burthen

[1] Comines, a witness of the last hours of Lewis XI., finely ascribes this cowardice to the vengeance of Nemesis. *Car jamais homme cruel ne fut hardy*, he says, vii. c. 13. Marino Sanudo, *Chron. Venet.*, p. 15, says, that Nero would have been a saint beside these two accursed despots, Ferrante and Alfonso.

Alfonso II. abdicates, Jan. 23, 1495. Ferdinand II. king.

of his crimes and the hatred of his subjects, the despot renounced his crown on January 23. He caused his blameless son Ferrantino (Ferdinand II.) to be proclaimed King, the step having been counselled by the Pope. He then embarked with his treasures for Sicily, to hide his disgrace in the cloister.

Charles learnt of the change on the throne at Marino, where he halted for the first night and whither he was followed by Caesar Borgia, ostensibly Legate of the Pope, in reality hostage for his father's fidelity. In Velletri the young cardinal gave the first proof of what he promised to become in the future. At night, disguised as a groom, he threw himself on a horse and hurried back to Rome. On the morning of January 30, the Pope was informed that the Cardinal lay hidden in the house of the Auditor Antonio Flores, and the father had reason to be satisfied with the proof of the abilities of his favourite son. From Rome Caesar proceeded in safety first to Rignano, then to Spoleto, while the Pope maintained that he knew nothing of his movements.[1] The King now discovered that Alexander was deceiving him. Should he return, or merely send troops to Rome to recover a fugitive cardinal? He sent Philip of Bresse to call the Pope to account; and Alexander sent the Bishop of Nepi with apologies. Envoys of the Roman citizens also hastened to the royal camp, to ex-

Cardinal Caesar Borgia flies from Marino.

[1] Letter of the Florentine orators, the Bishop of Volterra and Neri Caponi, *ex. Velletri*, 31 Jan. 1495. *Arch. Flor. Lettere ai X. di Balia Classe X.*, Dist. 4, n. 39.

plain that the city was guiltless in this breach of treaty.

In Velletri the Spanish ambassadors Juan Albion and Fonseca protested against the audacious enterprise, from which in the Peace of Barcelona Ferdinand the Catholic had withheld his consent. A violent scene took place. Fonseca tore the treaty of peace before the King's eyes.[1] But Charles continued his march. No enemy interrupted his progress. Montefortino alone, a fortress of the Conti, was stormed by Engilbert of Clèves, captain of the German mercenaries. This was done by favour of the Colonna, who were enemies of the Conti; Jacopo Conti moreover had entered the Neapolitan service. The garrison of the fortress were killed. And as Monte S. Giovanni suffered a like fate, these acts of barbarism spread terror through all the towns of the frontier.[2] The Neapolitans under Trivulzio and Pitigliano fled from S. Germano to Capua, which the young King Ferdinand hoped to defend. When however a revolt in Naples forced him to hasten thither, Trivulzio held negotiations with Charles and opened Capua to the French. Virginius and Pitigliano surrendered

[1] These envoys reached Rome on January 28, on the day of Charles's departure. Prescott, *Hist. of Ferd. and Isabella*, ii. 285.

[2] Charles's march is minutely described in the chronicles at the end of Monstrelet. According to de la Vigne; January 28, Marino. January 29 to February 2, Velletri. February 3, Valmontone. February 4 and 5, Ferentino. February 6, 7 and 8, Veroli. February 9, assault on Monte S. Giovanni: *ce carnage fût un des plus horribles qu'on vîd jamais.* February 10, again in Veroli. February 11, Bauco. February 12, Ceprano. February 13, S. Germano.

to the enemy at Nola, and Ferdinand, who returned to Capua too late, was obliged to go back to Naples, where he found that his cause was lost. On February 21 he went by boat to Ischia; on the 22nd Charles VIII. entered the capital of the Kingdom amid the rejoicings of the populace. The castles of Naples held out a little longer, but finally surrendered also.

Entry of Charles VIII. into Naples, Feb. 22, 1495.

The French had conquered Italy, as Alexander VI. said, with spurs of wood and with no further trouble than that of carrying a piece of chalk to mark their quarters. The King of France was compared to Alexander the Great and Caesar. As he took his seat on the throne of Anjou and Aragon in Castel Capuano, he must have appeared to himself the greatest monarch of the time. His crusade in Asia might now have been carried out, as Comines and the nobler spirits among the French hoped that it would. Bajazet was already terrified, for he knew his brother to be in Charles's power. The unfortunate Djem however died on February 25, almost before he had entered the Castle in Naples. The King commanded his death to be kept secret. It was immediately said that by Alexander's orders poison had been given him in a white powder.[1]

Death of the Sultan Djem.

[1] Volterra and N. Caponi, Naples, February 25, 1495: Zinzimi—*el quale ha havuto male circa otto di e morto—la cagione si dice varia.* —Burk.: *ex esu seu potu statui suo non convenienti vita est functus.* Ferronus and Jovius believe that poison had been administered by the Pope. Gurk told the Florentine orator that he knew that the Sultan had offered the Pope 200,000 ducats for Djem's death: *et che della morte sua credeva quello che era da giudicarne:* Braccio to the X. di

Charles received the homage of the venal nobility and the people of Naples, even that of the relations of the banished dynasty. With the exception of a few seaports all the Kingdom obeyed him. He now demanded investiture and coronation from Alexander VI., and since the Pope hesitated, he made a solemn procession to the cathedral of S. Januarius on May 12. But while, intoxicated by his good fortune, he plunged into the dissipations of Naples a storm was gathering behind him. All the powers had been terrified by his conquests. The Pope, Venice, Ludovico, disquieted by the claims of Orleans on Milan, came to an understanding in their common danger. The King of Spain feared for Sicily, where he had sent Gonsalvo with troops, and Maximilian could not consent to France usurping with the possession of Italy the hegemony in Europe. These various powers held a congress in Venice, where they formed the great league for the defence of their states on March 31, 1495.[1] The Turkish war served as its pretext, but the actual cause, expressed in private articles, was that of making war on the French conqueror. With this alliance of the powers begins the history of modern Europe.

League of the powers against Charles VIII. March 31, 1495.

Balia, Perugia, April 8, 1496, *Arch. Flor., ut supra.* See also Hammer, ii. 277; Romanin, p. 61; and Zinkeisen, p. 493. The Turks afterwards brought the body from Gaeta and buried it in Brussa.

[1] On April 7, 1495, Alexander informed the lords of Urbino, Pesaro, Camerino, Imola and Forli that the league was concluded, and summoned them to celebrate the publication thereof, which was to take place in S. Peter's on Palm Sunday. *Arch. Venut. lettere minute*, Busta, 26.

Charles was now obliged to retreat. He made Montpensier viceroy of Naples, Aubigny generalissimo in Calabria: he departed with the remainder of his army on May 20, accompanied by Trivulzio, who was now in his service, and by the cardinals Julian, S. Denis, Fieschi and S. Malò. Twenty thousand mules carried the spoils of Naples, among them valuables which the King had stolen. It was in this unfortunate Naples, and in Italy generally, that the French became acquainted with the spirit of the Renascence, and the refined culture of Italy henceforward exercised a powerful influence on France.[1] Previous to his departure Charles sent the Count of S. Paul to Rome to treat with the Pope; but in spite of the urgent exhortations of the Romans that he would remain in the city, and their promise to defend him in S. Angelo, Alexander fled on May 27, a day after the King's arrival at Ceprano.[2] As early as March Maximilian had earnestly advised him to leave Rome.[3] Almost ten

Alexander VI. flies from Rome, May 27, 1495.

[1] Pilorgerie, p. 231.

[2] On May 6, *dat. in castro nro. de Capuana Neapoli*, the King announces his return, and wishes to banish Alexander's suspicion. S. Malò and Bresse will write further particulars. This original letter and two letters from the Cardinals of S. Denis and S. Malò of May 6, are preserved in the *Bibl. Marciana Cl. X.*, Cod. 174 and 177.

[3] Alexander had previously asked Maximilian for troops. The Emperor wrote to him from Worms, March 25, 1495 (*Arch. Venet., Roma, Materia mista*, Bust., xxiii.): *intelligimus ser. Carol. Franc. Regem se ex Italia recipere ac per Urbem et oras quas intravit rursus velle exire. Nos—Sanct. V. hortandam duximus ne in urbe—maneat quinimmo bononie vel ad anconam vel alium locum tutum se recipiat.* On June 1 Alexander wrote from Orvieto to Maximilian, that on

thousand men, troops in the service of the League and the Church, accompanied him to Orvieto,[1] and he was followed by all the envoys and cardinals, John Morton of S. Anastasia alone remaining behind as vicar in the city.

Charles VIII. enters Rome, June 1.

On Monday, June 1, Charles VIII. re-entered Rome, where, in accordance with Alexander's commands, he was received with great honours. The Conservators sent deputies to meet him, who greeted him in the name of the Pope; he was received by the magistrates and an innumerable crowd.[2] He rode to S. Peter's, where he prayed. He declined to make his abode in the Vatican, and dwelt instead in the Palace of the Cardinal of S. Clemente in the Borgo, where the College of the Penitenziarii of S. Peter's now makes its seat. Although he had every reason to treat Rome as an enemy and to proceed against the perfidious Pope, he refrained from all hostile action. His troops preserved better discipline on this occasion, since the

his advice he had left Rome in the *Vigilia ascensionis:* Munich library, *Cod. lat.*, n. 428, fol. 218.—*Ibid.*, fol. 186 : urgent letter of Ludovico to Maximilian, May 19, 1495, imploring him not to desert the league, and to deliver Italy and the Kingdom from the French.

[1] Marino Sanudo estimates them at this number (*Venuta*, etc.); when the Pope saw the army, he said : *nui semo pezo che femine et si havessimo saputo di haver tanti valenti homini non sarremo partiti di Roma.*

[2] Letter of the Conservators to the Pope *ex vestra Alma urbe die* 3 *Junii* 1495 (Original, *Bibl. Marciana Cl. X.*, Cod. 174), in which they announce the reception and departure of the King, *hoc mane, circa tertiam diei horam*, and most submissively implore the return of the Pope.

Spaniards had left the city.[1] On Wednesday important despatches arrived from Milan, when Charles forthwith retired to Isola.[2] He was accompanied by Fabrizio and Prospero Colonna. He passed the night at Campagnano, the fortress of Virginius Orsini, and then advanced to Viterbo. He invited the Pope to an interview and even restored him the fortresses which, according to treaty, he had occupied; he only retained Ostia, but afterwards surrendered it to Cardinal Julian.

Alexander VI. escapes to Perugia.

But Alexander declined any meeting with the King, and on June 5 went from Orvieto to Perugia.[3] On their progress northwards the French sacked Toscanella, and massacred the population. On June 13 Charles arrived at Siena, and thence proceeded to Pisa. With piteous entreaties the Pisans besought him not to surrender them to

[1] People were astonished at his moderation. Petr. Delphinus, iv., ep. 37, in Raynald, n. 22. Charles's return and sojourn in Rome are described by Franc. Guidiccioni (letter, Rome, June 8, 1495), see Malipiero, p. 344. He estimates Charles's army at 30,000 men, of whom only 20,000 *da fatti*.

[2] Charles was still in Rome on June 4; the same day he had himself inscribed in the Confraternitas of S. Spirito: *in hanc. sanct. confrat. intravit et per me Constantinum Ro: ejusd. hospitalis modernum preceptorem in sue majestatis presentia ascribi voluit, et mandavit a.* 1495 *die* 4. *Junii Pon. s. d. D. Alex.*, p. vi. *Lib. fraternitatis S. Spiritus*, in the Archives of the institution.

[3] He had come to Orvieto on May 28, with 20 cardinals, among whom was Caesar. From Perugia he returned to Orvieto on June 21, and on the 23rd went on to Rome. On account of the constancy of Orvieto, he raised this city to a legation *a latere*, while on July 16, 1495, he appointed Caesar governor and castellan for life. See Bull in L. Fumi, *Alessandro VI. e il Valentino* in Orvieto, Siena, 1879, p. 80.

Florence for money; he would not decide. Florence itself he avoided. This city, indignant that he had received Piero Medici in his camp, and that he had neither restored Pisa nor other fortresses, fortified herself on his approach and even admitted Venetian troops. Her envoys carried on negotiations with Charles. Savonarola went to meet him at Poggibonsi, and there bitterly upbraided him for having broken faith with the Florentines, and deluded the world with expectations of the reform which he would effect in the Church.

With feelings of deep emotion the Italians watched the departure of the King, who with contemptuous indifference retraced the route of his triumphal progress, while the army of the league collected in the north to intercept his retreat. Had the confederates thrown themselves rapidly and with all their force against him, utter defeat or imprisonment would have been the merited punishment of the insolent intruder, and Italy would have recovered her honour and even her independence as she had formerly done at Legnano. In the history of the country there are but few moments of such decisive importance as this, but unfortunately the momentous opportunity was lost owing to fear, jealousy and incapacity.

Charles strove to reach Asti and Orleans's army, which had taken the Milanese town of Novara by surprise and had thereby forced Ludovico Sforza to send troops to besiege it. The King was allowed to traverse the passes near Pontremoli, and it was only when he reached the Taro near Fornuovo that his

way was barred by the fortified camp of the confederates under their general Gian-Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. The allied army was far superior to Charles's, whose exhausted forces numbered little more than 10,000 men. Its strength lay in the Swiss and German infantry, and it was principally with the forces of disunited Germany that the Kings of France henceforward waged their wars. The celebrated battle on the Taro, fought on July 6, 1495, scarcely lasted an hour. Each side claimed the victory, but more Italians than French covered the field, and although the French lost their baggage, they broke through the net which was spread for them, stormed the enemy's positions and scattered them in flight. Charles himself fought like a common soldier. On the banks of the Taro, he gathered the solitary laurel that he carried back with him to France from his Italian campaign. After a long interval the Italians had fought a national battle, the object of which was their deliverance from foreign tyranny. They had fought bravely, but had not obtained the hoped-for success, and their defeat decided their future fate. Escaping fortunately, and as it were by miracle, Charles VIII. reached Piacenza and Asti.[1]

Battle at Fornuovo, 1495.

[1] The battle is excellently described from the French side by Comines, from the Italian by the Veronese physician Benedictus, who is followed by Corio. *Al. Benedictus de reb. a Carolo VIII. in Italia gestis libri duo*, in Eccard, ii. 1577. Letters of Italian eye-witnesses are given in Malipiero, p. 356, especially of the heroic Bernardino Fortebraccio. Letter of Piero Vittori to the Duke of Urbino, Florence, July 14, 1495, in Desjardins, i. 624. For the French account, see Pilorgerie, p. 349. Jovius speaks of the battle without prejudice.

The storm cloud having rolled northward, Alexander returned to Rome on June 27.[1] At the instigation of Geronimo Zorzi, the Venetian envoy, he now found courage to issue a monitorium to the King of France, in which, under threat of ecclesiastical censure, he admonished him to refrain from any further attack on Italy.[2] Meanwhile the allied army besieged the Duke of Orleans in Novara, while Charles remained in Turin, where he succeeded in detaching Ludovico Sforza from the League, and on October 9 in concluding a separate peace with him at Vercelli. Ludovico thereby regained possession of Novara, but allowed the King to equip vessels at Genoa, and even promised to support him in his next war against Naples. This treaty was made by Sforza without the knowledge of his allies. Venice rejected the proposed articles and the King the conditions of the republic. He himself returned to France with great glory but little profit, since his army had come to a disastrous end at Naples.[3]

Alexander VI. returns to Rome, June 27, 1495.

Immediately after his departure Ferdinand II. had returned from Messina to his Kingdom, where the overbearing French had made themselves universally detested. He had already sought the aid of Spain in Sicily, and Ferdinand the Catholic had gladly given it, the Spaniard himself laying

[1] The date is given in MS. Barberini, 3253.

[2] Malipiero says that this monitorium (of August 5) only redounded to the shame of the Pope. On August 21 Alexander addressed a letter of thanks to the Doge Barbarico. Rayn., n. 31.

[3] Fr. Delaborde, *L'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie*, Paris, 1888, 4to, has described the King's Italian campaign in a sumptuous work, which is valuable on account of the illustrations.

claim to the Neapolitan crown as son of Juan of Aragon, brother of Alfonso I. He sent his great general Gonsalvo with troops to Calabria; and Venice, whose aid was also invoked, eagerly seized some towns along the sea coast.

King Ferdinand II. enters Naples, July 7, 1495.

As early as July 7, 1495, Ferdinand II. was able to enter Naples. Prospero and Fabrizio, who were now in his pay, and papal troops lent him security, while Montpensier and Aubigny lost one position after another. Montpensier finally surrendered at Atella, and died at Pozzuoli on October 5, 1496. Aubigny, however, in accordance with an agreement, left Gaeta in November, and took ship for France. Almost all the French had found a grave at Naples.

His death, Oct. 7, 1496.

Frederick king.

The young Ferdinand II. enjoyed his uncertain fortune but a short time longer; he died childless on October 7, 1496, when his noble and highly gifted uncle Don Federigo, Count of Altamura, ascended the throne. In these circumstances, it is probable that had he lived Alfonso would again have claimed the crown, but he was now no more. He had died at Mazzarra on November 10, 1495.

Thus ended in nothing the impious conquests of Charles VIII. They left as their legacy that terrible syphilis, which received the name of the "French disease," and spread like the pestilence over Europe. It was asserted indeed that this scourge had been brought from the paradises of the uninhabited wilds of America; but the fact is, that it appeared in Italy and other countries pre-

cisely at the period of their deepest moral corruption and as the physical expression thereof.[1]

In one of the most awful inundations of the Tiber which Rome ever experienced, men also discovered the Divine anger. On December 4, 1495, the river rose to such a height that it covered the lower part of the city. The cardinals who were leaving Consistory at the time escaped with difficulty across the bridge of S. Angelo; the Cardinal of Parma was unable to reach his house. The flood tore down palaces, entered the churches, surged through the streets. People were rowed about in boats, as on the lagoons of Venice. Several were drowned. It was found impossible to rescue the prisoners in the Torre di Nona. The damage inflicted was estimated at 300,000 ducats, and letters of Venetian eye-witnesses said that Rome would not recover her losses in twenty-five years. On the corner of a house near S. Eustachio, we may still see the marble inscription which records

Inundation of the Tiber, Dec. 4, 1495.

[1] The disease first appeared in Naples, and was immediately regarded as a Divine judgment. *Quod novus ille et graviss. hominum morbus nostris dieb. exortus, quem vulgo malum Francicum vocant, post homin. mem. inauditus, saepe grassetur, quae nos justissimae Dei irae merito debent admonere:* Maximilian's edict against blasphemers, Worms, August 7, 1495. Raynald, n. 39. Several prelates were attacked, also Caesar Borgia. He was treated by a Spanish physician called Gaspar Torrella, who wrote for him the *Tractatus contra Pudendagra* (ed. Romae, November 22, 1497, per M. Petrum de la Turre). In the introduction he extols the Cardinal as a factor to mankind, because in his own person he had afforded an opportunity for the cure of the disease. *Quantum enim tibi genus humanum obnoxium sit, non est qui ambigat, nam tempestate tua et tua causa curationis modus cognoscitur.* E. Alvisi, *Ces. Borgia duca di Romagna*, p. 463.

the height to which the waters rose during the inundation.[1]

[1] See letters in Malipiero, p. 409 *sq.* An inscription still exists in the Via del Paradiso (Rione Parione) which the Venetian ambassador caused to be affixed to his house: *Alexandro Sext. P. M. Tibris Hoc Signum Undis Invasit Hieron. Georgius Venetus Orator in Urbe Posuit Deceb. Quinto. MCCCCLXXXXV.* A German humanist wrote a poem: *Jacobi Locher alias Philomusi Carmen de diluvio Romae effuso*, *Ibid.*, *Dec.* 1495. Erhard, *Gesch. des Wiederaufl. der wiss. Bildung*, iii. 185. Concerning the inundations of the Tiber at this time, see Lodovico Canesio, *De prodigiosis Tyberis inundationibus*, Rome, 1531.—In general: *Le Inondazioni del Tevere in Roma*, by Francesco Brioschi, Rome, 1876. — E. Narducci, *Saggio di Bibliografia del Tevere*, Roma, 1876.

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Gregorovius 945.6
G821h

History of the city of
Rome in the Middle Ages,
v.7

Gregorovius 945.6
AUTHOR G821h

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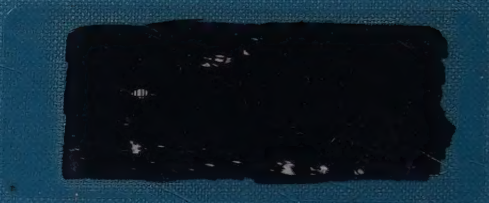
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